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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

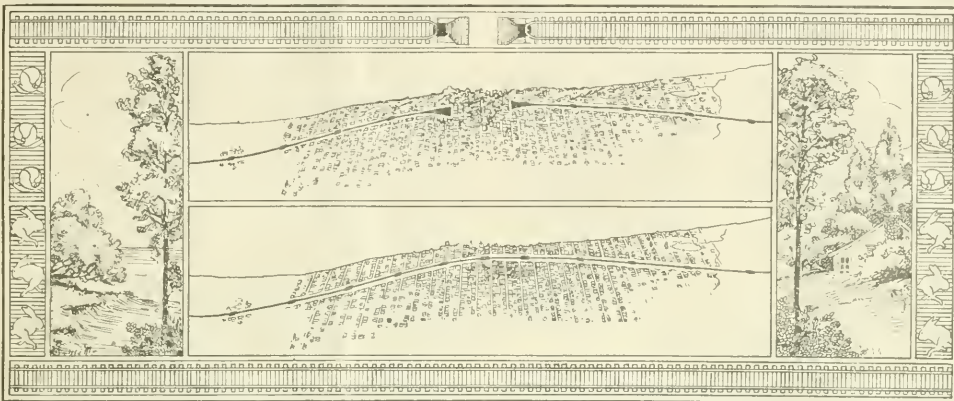
VOLUME VIII

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1915

NUMBER 1

See Announcements on Last Page

TWO ILLUSTRATED BOOKS ON URBAN TRANSPORTATION



THROUGH ROUTES FOR CHICAGO'S STEAM RAILROADS

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IN THE CIVIC FIELD AT LARGE

Once more a Night Court has been established by the judges of the Municipal Court of this city. Some years ago such a court was instituted, but after a short trial it was discontinued as being "unnecessary." Social workers have never doubted its necessity. New York City's Night Court has never suffered from a scarcity of work.

Chief Justice Olson has given the reasons for the action of the judges in ordering the establishment of a Night Court in a statement we reproduce in part as follows:

1. It will enable the police to arraign men arrested for serious crimes at once, and have them either bound over to the grand jury or held under ironclad bonds for appearance at a later date.
2. It will enable citizens arrested for trivial offenses to have an immediate hearing, plead guilty or successfully defend the charge, and not have to remain in jail all night.
3. It will wipe out the professional bondsmen, who for years have obtained a parasitical living from the friendless or unsophisticated who are arrested.
4. It will increase the efficiency of the police force by enabling policemen who have made arrests to dispose of the cases, or learn definitely when they can be heard, without having to remain at their stations all night to be ready to appear in court in the morning.
5. It will prevent the intimidation or "fixing" of witnesses by giving the police opportunity to put them on record before the judge, even though hearing of the case may be continued.
6. It will relieve the judges of the necessity of getting out of bed at all hours of the night to grant bail to persons arrested.

We find this item in the Chicago Daily News:

"Public playgrounds in La Crosse, Wis., are estimated to have decreased juvenile delinquency at least 50 per cent during the three years they have been in operation. This is the opinion of the county judge before whom youthful offenders are taken."

Prof. Henry J. Cox of the federal weather bureau in this city is opposing, though not in his official capacity, the "more daylight" plan that is now under consideration in our business circles. He is quoted as saying:

The idea seems to be that to start the day one hour earlier the workers would have an extra hour of daylight. As a matter of fact, the hour between 6 and 7 has sunshine about 30 per cent of the year. A large part of the time it is more like midnight and the lights are ablaze in shops and offices. It is true, however, they might have an hour of daylight more to themselves on the end of the day. It also is the coldest part of the day. The beginning of the working day averages about 10 degrees colder than at the end of the day. Now why, I ask, make the workers get up in winter time an hour earlier "in the night" and suffer another hour of cold weather?

The Chicago Health Department, in its weekly bulletin, gave recently this bit of excellent advice to property owners:

If you have a vacant lot, what are you doing with it? Has it occurred to you that there is some better use it may be put to than to let it lie idle and pay taxes on it? Of course, this is not the growing season, but next spring will be; and then what are you going to do? If your lot lies out on the West, Northwest or Southwest Sides of the city, the soil is good and it will grow all kinds of vegetables. Why not, then, put the vacant lot to some good use? A great many thousands of bushels of potatoes alone could be produced on Chicago's vacant lots. Man is dependent on the soil for his living. Let us then make the land productive.

The Century Opera Company, an organization largely civic in character, for the City Club of New York brought it into existence in order to bring opera in English to the greater public at moderate prices, has come to grief. Its Chicago engagement was financially unsuccessful, and it exhausted its guaranty fund. It is understood that several of its wealthy supporters failed to renew or redeem their pledges. The war in Europe is to some extent responsible for this. For the present the company is dead, but an effort may be made next fall to revive it and place at its disposal a larger guaranty fund. An appeal may also be made to the public for small subscriptions. The company certainly deserved prosperity. It gave very good opera in English and exemplified the sound and artistic idea in opera—opera without stars, prodigious expense, or dependence on the world of fashion and vain display.

THE TRACTION SITUATION AGAIN

The traction question is ever with us. Is the service better than it was prior to the adoption of the settlement ordinance and the rehabilitation work? Alderman Block, chairman of the Council Committee on Local Transportation, answers with an emphatic and angry "No." He has been quoted as saying that the traction service is "vile" and that quick action is demanded by the people. To quote him further:

Summer or winter, rain or shine, light riding or heavy riding, the whole year through, street railway service has been wretched. The companies have achieved 100 per cent efficiency in devising a system which is just short of the point of leaving nickels on the street corners because there is no toe-hold left on the car. Just look out of a window while you read this and you will see car after car pass so packed that each fits its crowd like a tight glove. . . . If every car now in the service were operated in the dulllest month conditions would still be execrable, as the whole city knows.

An investigation has been ordered by the Board of Supervising Engineers, largely as the result of the protests of Alderman Block and others, but there is considerable skepticism everywhere regarding the likelihood of obtaining any material improvement. The comments of the press, as well as of leading citizens, indicate a painful lack of confidence. Here are some characteristic explanations of our traction problem:

Alderman Capitain: "Lack of co-operation among the City Hall, the surface lines and the Board of Supervising Engineers."

Chairman Bion J. Arnold: "'Playing to the galleries' and 'politics' on the part of Alderman Block and others, as well as inefficiency and hostility to the supervising engineers."

Mr. Walter L. Fisher: "The administration's failure to co-operate with the

Board of Supervising Engineers is responsible in a large degree for the present street car service. If the Local Transportation Committee would stop finding fault with the board and some of the aldermen would stop playing politics it might be easier to get better service. It looks to me as though the traction company was naturally taking advantage of the city's failure to use the board to its best advantage."

The Chicago Daily News: "Intrigue, politics, hostility on the part of the city administration to Mr. Arnold, and lack of harmony among the official agencies."

The Chicago Tribune: "Whenever Mayor Harrison wants to get anywhere in politics he takes a street car. . . . If the time ever comes when the city will abandon the rhetorical treatment of the question, make an investigation into the essential defects and adopt a rational and progressing policy with regard to street car service, that service may be improved gradually."

The Chicago Herald: "Straphanging can be ameliorated if the various agencies and organs charged with responsibility for finding remedies will stop their foolish quarreling, stop playing politics, get together and act in harmony. It will not be even ameliorated until such harmonious co-operation is established."

Meantime the City Council is passing minor ordinances affecting the surface and elevated service, the newspapers are agitating the subject and filling pages with complaints and protests, and the Public Utilities Commission of the state is taking a hand in the controversy, having opened an inquiry. Its jurisdiction is disputed by the city.

What, one wonders, will time bring forth in the premises?

CLUB AND PERSONAL NOTES

Dr. E. V. Hill, in an address delivered at one of the health conferences of the City Club, showed a stereopticon slide on the screen depicting the ordinary street car, with the leering skeleton of death as the most important passenger. It bore the inscription, "A Box

Full of Steaming, Sneezing, Sputtering, Coughing Human Beings, Each Breathing in the Other's Foul Exhalations." He declared in every unventilated street car there lurk two cases of diphtheria, one of pneumonia, and one of tuberculosis. Of our 3,000 cars only 900 have

ventilating fans, and these fans are seldom used. The city employs only five inspectors to see that the cars are ventilated. The companies find it cheaper to pay a small fine occasionally than to ventilate the cars. Here, as Dr. Hill said, is a question of health that concerns every resident of the city.

The directors of the Club have recently established "reciprocal relations" with the City Clubs of Baltimore, Boston, New York, and other places. That is, members of the club who may visit another city having a City Club that has entered into the reciprocity arrangement will be entitled to use and enjoy all the facilities of the club house of that city. The relations are to be strictly on a cash basis—a basis familiar to and approved by the members of our own club.

The City Club of Los Angeles has sent us one of its regular postcard announcements. It makes us feel that Chicago and the Middle West are becoming quite conventional. How fresh and breezy the Los Angeles style is!

Here is the card, only a few lines being omitted:

Talk as you please—
Think as you please—
Come if you please—
Have you a hobby that will save the nation?

A chance of your lifetime to spring your pet theory.

Also to listen to a few others—five minutes a theory.

Here are a few of the possible

SPEAKERS AND SUBJECTS:

Dr. Francis B. Kellop—"The effect of prohibition on the available supply of water wagons."

David Evans—"Civil Service and jitney busses."

S. C. Graham—"Irritation, Hypodermic Power and High Waterways."

Lorin A. Handley—"Wilson—that's all."

M. E. Johnson—"How to live happy without being a Socialist or a member of the grand jury."

J. J. Andrews—"Just a question or two."

Lucius C. Dale—"Strawberry Guavas vs. Unripe Persimmons."

The Secretary—"It Might Have Been Worse."

Price of Admission — One New Member

MEDICAL FRAUDS AND PUBLIC HEALTH*

The nostrum is probably the most widespread of the medical frauds, and also probably the greatest menace to the public health. Consumption and cancer cures that lure to death, rupture cures and deafness cures that never cure at all, headache cures that do not do anything but depress the heart and disorganize the very blood itself, the soothing syrups that narcotize the helpless, and hundreds of specially advertised tonics which have for their essential ingredients alcohol—all of them are found in that class of preparations colloquially spoken of as "patent medicines."

The nostrum maker of today has abandoned the patent, because a patent medicine is a product which would necessitate specifying what that patent medicine contains, and how it was made. And so he gives to that medicine a fancy name and he invokes the aid of the government to grant a trade-mark to

that name and it becomes his property, practically perpetually.

While in a patented product the public finally gets the benefit of that product because the patent runs out, in the case of trade-marks it is possible at the present time under our existing laws to get what amounts to a perpetual monopoly of a name. There is nothing in our law as it stands at the present time to prevent a man taking a package of soda or common salt, or borax, and giving it a fancy name and claiming that it will cure anything from cancer to soft corns, and putting it on the market, provided he does not lie on the trade package. There is nothing to prevent him selling that; it is easily done. Furthermore, the name that he has had trade-marked is his property, and it makes no difference whether he exploits the stuff for a year, he may find it necessary to change the formula, but he can still retain the name, and he will retain the property rights in that name.

The passage of the Food and Drugs Act has done something towards protecting the public against the more fraud-

*Condensed report of an illustrated address delivered by Dr. A. J. Cramp, editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association, on January 9, at the noonday luncheon in the City Club.

ulent of the patent medicines; to prevent lying on the label or on the particular package—for now the entire trade package is assumed to be part of the label—such lying has become expensive and illegal.

When that law went into effect on January 1, 1907, there were a number of changes noted on some of the most widely advertised proprietary or patent medicines. In general the changes which took place were a change from the lie direct to the lie with circumstance; from the direct falsehood to the inferential. And, as we shall see shortly on the screen, no small amount of ingenuity has been used, in still fooling the public. But at the same time they have been trying to keep just within the letter of the law.

When the law was first passed it was generally supposed by manufacturers and by the courts that the term "misbranded," as applied to the law, applied not only to the composition of the product and to the brand showing the origin of the product, but also to the therapeutic and curative claims for the product. The manufacturers believed that generally, and the courts believed that generally and acted on that belief. In many instances convictions were brought about.

Then came the notorious Johnson case at Kansas City. Johnson is a quack who sells a cure for cancer. The government officials seized some of his product and prosecuted him under the federal Food and Drugs Act. The chief charge against the product was that false and fraudulent claims, false or misleading claims, were made for the curative effect of the product. Johnson's defense was that the law did not apply to the curative effect, but applied only to the sources of origin and to the composition of the product. The lower court upheld the contention of Johnson's attorneys. Then the United States officials carried it to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Supreme Court of the United States in a divided opinion upheld the lower court.

The blow that the Food and Drugs Act received by that decision brought about a special message from the President, urging that an amendment be made

to the Act that would make good the weak point that is disclosed. Such an amendment was passed. The Shirley amendment, it was called.

Unfortunately, the Shirley amendment differed somewhat in its wording from the body of the Act. The body of the Act says that a drug shall be deemed misbranded if statements are made about that drug that are false or misleading. It also adds that if is any particular the value of any particular drug applies to the therapeutic effects, if that is false or misleading, either one. The Shirley amendment says that a drug shall be deemed misbranded if therapeutic claims are made that are false and fraudulent. In other words, the officials who are to enforce the law have to prove both falseness and fraudulency, and not false or misleading statements.

That is looked upon as more or less of a joker in the amendment, but yet, in spite of the weakness, some convictions have been brought under the Shirley amendment, and more undoubtedly will be brought.

The Food and Drugs Act, in addition to determining whether the thing is truthfully advertised, so far as trade packages are concerned, also requires the declaration of the presence of certain drugs which may be in the remedy. There are only eleven drugs and their derivatives which must thus be declared on the label—alcohol, morphine, opium and its derivatives, cocaine, codine, bala uka, acetanilid—eleven altogether. Unfortunately, however, there are scores of drugs aside from those which are very dangerous. And certainly such drugs should not ordinarily be used for self-medication, the presence of which should be declared on the label. Prussic acid can be put in a preparation, and it does not have to be declared on the label. Strychnin, that can be put in; arsenic can be put in; carbolic acid can be put in; aconite can be put in, and a number of others. Still the public is none the wiser, for manufacturers generally, with one or two honorable exceptions, do not name any of the ingredients which the law does not make them name on the label.

Sometimes people have believed that the guarantee, whenever it goes with

anything labeled under the Food and Drugs Act, acted in a certain protection, protecting the public, no matter what it is; but the general belief that the guarantee under the Food and Drugs Act means that the Federal government guarantees the thing to be free from danger, or that the patent is good, is erroneous. All that the guarantee clause has ever meant is that the manufacturer guarantees the product under the Food and Drugs Act, and that if his stuff is misbranded under the Act, or adulterated under the Act, that he is the one that will be held responsible in case it is so construed, thus releasing the individual retailer from responsibility.

Some of the greatest frauds that have ever been on the market have borne the guarantee clause. And, bearing that clause, the manufacturers were, of course, the ones that were convicted when convictions were obtained.

Nostrums generally get credit for having potency and value because of our inherent tendency to credit human agencies with what should be credited to nature. In the vast majority of instances nature is trying to cure us, not trying to kill us. It is on this very point that the whole patent medicine business is built. It is because of that fact that it is so easy for patent medicine manufacturers to obtain testimonials praising their wares.

First will be shown a few labels demonstrating the power for righteousness, or partial righteousness, of the Food and Drugs Act. On the extreme left is the original label of a nostrum known as Psychine. It was advertised originally as an infallible remedy for consumption, or all disorders of the throat and lungs. After the passage of the Act, before the manufacturers realized that the Act was really a buzzsaw—after the passage of the Act we find a different label on the product. You will notice it has been changed from an "infallible remedy" to a "wonderful remedy," and the alcohol it contained is given on the label, although not in type as large as the law requires. Still later the manufacturers toned their stuff down, because they knew that they could not prove in any sense of the word that this stuff was a wonderful remedy for consumption, and it became "a tonic appetizer and aid to digestion."

"Dr. King's New Discovery for Consumption, 'the only sure cure for consumption in the world,' with a positive guarantee," after the passage of the Act became "Dr. King's New Discovery for Coughs and Colds, a most successful medicine," instead of "the only sure cure."

Piso Cure for Consumption, as shown on the left, became, after the Food and Drugs Act was passed, "Piso Cure," or "Medicine for," which you can plainly read in the slide, although you can scarcely read the original label. It reads "A remedy for coughs and colds, and so forth."

The reason that the term "cure" has been retained, presumably, although the Federal authorities have ruled against the use of the word "cure" on a label, is that it does not say "Piso cures" anything, but it says "Piso Cure," a remedy for.

There are three labels there showing the various stages of truthfulness. "Thompson's Kidney, Liver and Bladder Cure, a great remedy and cure of kidney and liver trouble," and so on, became "Dr. Thompson's Swamp Root, Kidney, Liver and Bladder Remedy, a great remedy to correct all kidneys and livers." Then they get down still nearer to the truth when they say, "This great remedy is recommended for it." That, of course, is the fact. If there is no other authority for it, it is quite evident that Dr. Thompson of Binghampton recommends it.

Most of the epileptic cures, the cures for fits on the market, contain as their essential ingredients bromides in some form. Those are taken usually by those who would drug themselves for so serious a condition in doses that no physician with any respect for his reputation would prescribe. The result is that the fits are suppressed, but the mental condition of the patient becomes bad. That is just one of a number of cures that are on the market. Epileptic cures have been very popular since the Food and Drugs Act went into effect, because the bromides do not have to be declared.

After the Food and Drugs Act was passed it became "a popular treatment,"

and still later, probably because it was suggested that it told the truth, the "doctor" was removed.

Those are the three labels in the varying stages of truthfulness.

Now, take Syrup of Figs. Where we imagine some harmless product, which is a simple home remedy if advertised truthfully, there can be no serious objection to it. But Syrup of Figs is a name, and the name is based on the belief, well-founded, that the fruit has value in constipation cases. It has. But the Syrup of Figs has none. The figs themselves have a certain action because of the indigestible residue of the contents.

This is another example of the trade-marking of a name. This is a quack. He brought out a cancer cure which he called "Radol." This, you will notice, was said to be a "radium impregnated fluid, prepared according to the formula and under the supervision of Dr. Rupert Wells"—prepared according to his formula. He was finally put out of business, both by the postoffice authorities, because he did a mail order business, and by the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture, because the stuff was misbranded.

After the Food and Drugs Act was passed these three lines were added to the label on Winslow's Soothing Syrup: "This bottle contains 5% alcohol, one-tenth of a grain of morphine sulphate" and some other things in very small quantities. For years that had been sold to mothers of the country to soothe their babies, without any hint being given that there was a grain of morphine. The same stuff was sold in Great Britain, but there they have a law which, while much weaker than the American law in many respects, requires a brand on the label with the word "Poison" and the proportion of the contents, as stated in a certain schedule or list of poisons. And morphine sulphate is one of them. So that, as sold in Great Britain, it is thus labeled: "This preparation contains nothing but helpful ingredients, and a small amount of morphine, but in accordance with the Pharmacy Act is hereby labeled 'Poison.'"

Labeling this stuff "poison" practically killed the sale of it in Great Britain. The result was that they changed the formula

in Great Britain and took out the morphine sulphates and put in potassium bromides, which was not on the scheduled list of poisons.

About a year ago I went down State street trying to buy Winslow's Soothing Syrup in drug stores, and to the credit of the drug stores I could not buy it. Public opinion had been focused on that thing substantially so that the decent drug stores of the country generally are not carrying it now.

Here are two Peruna labels, before and after the passage of the Food and Drugs Act. Before the passage of the Food and Drugs Act no mention was made of the alcohol that was in it. But there were few people who were sufficiently unsophisticated to believe there was no alcohol in the stuff. It was being purchased as a beverage in various parts of the country until it became so much of an abuse that it led to the Federal government issuing an order that "No Peruna shall be sold to the Indians." But it was still good enough to sell to white people.

By focusing attention on that fact, and because it was notorious that the stuff was going into dry districts of the country by carload lots, the Internal Revenue Department at Washington notified the manufacturer of this stuff that if he did not put some real medicine into his booze he would have to take out a liquor license. And so he advertised formally that "for a number of years requests came to me from a number of grateful friends"—that was the Internal Revenue Department—"urging that Peruna be given a slight laxative quality." And he had been experimenting on that. He puts a laxative in it and it contained senna, and the man who tries to get drunk on Peruna has a serious time. And we learn that after the senna was put in, after it has been going on for a year or two, that where the stuff had previously gone in by the carload lots it was going in only by cases or by the dozen. Evidently in an attempt to recuperate his vanishing fortune the original Peruna had to be resurrected. It has been resurrected, but it is sold not under the name of Peruna, but under the name of Catranual. In this formula that was sent out and probably still is, Mr. Hart-

man, or Dr. Hartman, acknowledges the fact as to the way it was prepared, which had not heretofore been acknowledged, and that the government had simply ordered the making of Peruna to be done under a license and a tax paid. Well, was there any alternative? Yes, there was. The government required that enough drugs be added to Peruna so that there would be present drugs enough to prevent it being used as a beverage.

This is an example of the few nostrums that effect the pocketbook more than they do the health. Now, those are advertised by what is known or what has been called the prescription fake method of advertising. This was very popular a year or so ago and is still used to some extent, although it is not so much. The scheme consists in publishing these claims in newspapers and claiming to give answers to questions. You will notice the pencil mark around some of the words in each of these answers. Here is one enlarged: "Pearl M." That is undoubtedly entirely mythical. It tells her: "You can make a strengthening tonic for tired and inflamed eyes by dissolving one ounce of Crystine in a pound of water. Then drop it in when necessary."

Now, what is Crystine? One would imagine by reading that that it was not a proprietary medicine, that it was a product that can be bought in any drug store; but as a matter of fact it is a proprietary remedy that was put out by a Chicago concern, and the druggists' shelves were loaded up with it in expectation of the awful demand that was started by this advertisement. When analyzed in the laboratory of the American Medical Association, Crystine which would cure sore eyes was found to be dry boracic acid and common salt and boric acid, and was retailed at fifty cents. The estimated cost of the ingredients was one cent.

Here is another recognized as mythical. A recommendation to Mrs. G. M. of a fat-reducer. It consisted of three-fourths baking soda and one-fourth sodium sulphate.

Here is a "Mother's Friend" which is a typical advertisement, not so frequently used today as it was. This is one of the older advertisements. The drug is sold

to pregnant women, and their fears are played upon. They are given to believe that the use of this will render childbirth much easier and will remove many of the dangers attendant to it. Some of the claims that were made for Mother's Friend on the label, or the trade package, rather, were these; that it shortens the duration of labor; that it tends to safe and quick delivery; that it will also cure morning sickness, and that it will alleviate and cure all the suffering, and so on.

These people were prosecuted under the Food and Drugs Act by the Federal government, and the report is given in the notation of the judgment, No. 203. These people are selling it at one dollar a bottle, and were presumably selling a mixture of oil with some quantity of soap. They are still carrying on a campaign of advertising, and their advertising is inferential, and just as vicious as it was at the time of the conviction. But they are skillful enough now to confine their advertising to such newspapers as will carry it and not put it on the trade package. For, unfortunately, the Food and Drugs Act has absolutely no control over the claims made by the manufacturers of patent medicines when they are made other than on the trade package.

There are few frauds more cruel than the cancer cure or the consumption cure frauds. And the consumption cures are additionally cruel in this way, that in its incipency consumption can be cured. As certainly as the patient starts to rely on something out of a bottle, just so surely will that person die. Hygienic and dietetic treatment and a certain amount of medication in selected cases will bring about a cure in many instances without question, but there is no practical cure known for consumption, and any man who sells as a cure for consumption a mixture of drugs, and any newspaper which publishes advertisements of that kind, are engaged in a villianous business.

Here is an advertisement by the Lung Germine Company of Jackson, Michigan, this being a typical advertisement of this kind. In this solution a mixture of alcohol and sulphuric acid and water is supposed to be a cure for consumption. Of course, none of those things are mentioned, except the presence of alcohol,

which has to be declared under the Food and Drugs Act. But it is essentially a mixture of sulphuric acid and fortified wine with water. Every intelligent person knows, even without any medical training, perfectly well, that they can never cure consumption with such a mixture. Most of these mail order frauds are strengthened with guarantees. The guarantee sent out by the Lung Germine concern reads that "We, the president and secretary of the Lung Germine Company, will cause to be returned to the person whose name appears above all money paid to the Lung Germine Company for the first month's treatment of Lung Germine, providing no benefit or favorable changes are made in the patient's condition during this time."

The persons have to make a report four times in the first month; at the end of that month if they have received no benefit, according to their statements, that first month, the money will be returned. It is a perfectly safe bet that not one in a thousand gets their money back. If they make a statement in a report that is sent in every week that their cough is a little less or their expectoration a little less, or their fever seemed to be a little lower, or their night sweats are not so bad, any one of those admissions will make the guarantee void, because it shows some improvement.

Passing from that, here is something known as Stuart's Plas-Tr-Pads, which is sold as a cure for rupture. It consists essentially of a strip of plaster of Paris with a small amount of ointment. The ointment contains tannic acid and it was said to cure rupture. Needless to say, it never cured rupture. The point, however, is that in the booklet sent out by the Stuart's Plas-Tr-Pads concern some time ago they called attention to the fact, as shown there in the upper picture, that all letters they received were held in the strictest confidence. As a matter of fact, a letter broker in New York told the advertiser that they had over seventeen thousand letters received by the Stuart's Plas-Tr-Pads concern that were for sale or rent to anybody that wanted a sucker list of ruptured persons.

The Medical Mailing List Company of New York shows also on this card what

becomes of the names of those who write to many of the medical mail order concerns of the country. Those names go to form a huge sucker list, as it is known in the parlance, and get from the rupture, cancer and deafness cure names amounting to a list of twenty thousand; and rheumatism, dyspepsia, obesity, neuralgia, asthma and consumption, and so on, have a list of five thousand names.

The chief reason for this is that in the case of cancer and rupture and deafness, it is difficult for the Federal authorities to get conviction against the concerns that are in that business, and as a result the names are of more value to those that are in the business.

In closing, it must have been evident from what has been said that the newspapers of the country are in no small degree responsible for the existence of the evil. It should be said, rather in fairness to the newspapers of the country, to the better class of the newspapers, that they are daily becoming more strict in the acceptance of medical copy. The Associated Advertising Clubs of the world are calling on us repeatedly for information about these things that are nostrums, and asking for facts regarding them, and it has been our experience that where the editor of any newspaper can be shown that the thing is probably a fraud he throws out that advertisement no matter how much income it may be bringing to him to keep it in. The trouble has been in the past that there has been no source of information to which editors could go. If they went to the doctors of the country, the doctors had not any specific information and they merely said: "That thing is a fraud," and said it probably in such a way that it indicated that they considered they had very little use for the editor who would allow such advertisements to appear. But the editor has the right to have the facts presented, and as I say, it has been the experience of the American Medical Association in the majority of instances where it can be shown that the thing is an actual fraud on the public that the newspapers have usually responded as you would expect them to respond; and they have thrown out such advertisements.

THE RAT PEST AND PREVENTIVES*

The rat is the most mammalian pest known to man. Its depredations throughout the world result annually in losses of hundreds of millions of dollars. But these tremendous money losses are of less import than the fact that rats carry the germs of the dreaded plague from city to city around the globe.

The real cure for the rat evil in cities is in *preventive* measures. The abundance of *food* and *shelter* heretofore afforded to the rat by man *must be withheld* if he is to be exterminated.

Actual figures of rats killed are the best *proof* or *infestation*.

One record shows 1,700 killed in a single ship.

Our Public Health Service reports rats killed in San Francisco and vicinity: August, 1907, to May, 1908. . . . 278,000
April, 1908, to January, 1909. . . . 115,000
Unknown number killed by poison
(estimated) 500,000

Probable total number in seven-
teen months 893,000

Mr. David E. Lantz, assistant biologist, Department of Agriculture, after some comparison of data from Great Britain with conditions in United States cities of more than 100,000 population, concludes, "It is probable that *in most of our cities* there are *as many rats as people*."

FOOD OF RATS

That the brown rat is practically omnivorous explains the ease with which he adapts himself to his environment, the heat under the baker's oven or the low temperature of a cold storage plant being alike congenial to him so long as he finds food in plenty.

His bill of fare includes "seeds and grains of all kinds, flour, meal, and food products made from them; fruits and garden vegetables; mushrooms; bark of growing trees; bulbs, roots, stems, leaves, and flowers of herbacious plants; eggs, chicks, ducklings, young pigeons, and young rabbits; milk, butter and cheese; fresh meat and carrion; mice, rats, fish, frogs and mussels."

Cultivated grains are the favorite food of rats. They will dig the seed from the

ground, eat the tender sprouts, and feast on the maturing crop.

They climb the upright stalks of Indian corn and strip the grain from the cob.

Rats have been known to climb to the extremities of branches of apple trees to obtain ripe apples.

Studies made in Baltimore and Washington justify the estimate that the damage done by rats in these cities is \$1.27 per year, per capita.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

Preventive measures necessary should include:

I.—Reduction of the Food Supply.

1. Food supply of rats must be reduced by keeping all waste food in metal containers properly covered.

2. Urgent precautionary measures to prevent access of rats to food in process of handling, as in bakeries, groceries, restaurants, markets, etc.

3. The storage of feed for horses, chickens, etc., entirely in metal or concrete containers.

II.—Decrease in Rat Housing.

The improvement of structure of buildings and their surroundings.

1. Foundations should extend into the ground at least two feet and should be required to be of masonry in all cases.

2. Spaces under buildings, whether cellars or otherwise, should be rat-proofed with cement floors from wall to wall.

3. All new buildings of frame construction should be required to be rat-proofed by the filling of wall spaces with concrete two feet above the ground. Wooden buildings of all kinds are undesirable by reason of rat menace alone.

4. Wooden floors where rat infested should be required to be replaced with concrete floors.

5. Plank walks and wooden platforms affording rat runs should be required to be replaced with metal and concrete structures.

6. No new earthen drains should be allowed under houses, but cast-iron should be required. All openings which afford access to drains should be stopped.

7. The loose materials liable to afford harborage to rats, such as lumber, old

*Address delivered at the City Club, at a health conference, by Charles B. Ball, chief sanitary inspector of Chicago.

iron, wood for fuel, etc., should be piled on racks at least one foot above the ground, to allow access underneath of dogs and cats.

III.—*Extermination of Rodents.*

1. A concerted and continuing effort should be made by the Health Depart-

ment in co-operation with individuals and corporations to kill rats and mice by means of traps, poisons, dogs and human rat catchers.

2. Rat importations should be prevented by inspection of freight cars and steamboats from grain and fruit production centers, etc.

BISHOP SUMNER ON CHICAGO'S ADVANCE

At a luncheon given in his honor by a committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce, Dean Sumner, now bishop of Oregon (whose removal from this city is regretted by every civic and religious worker), spoke of the many steps forward that this city has taken in the last fifteen years. We quote from a report of his address in the Daily News:

"Talk with any social worker, talk with any student who has to do with the problems of this nature, and he will tell you that there is no problem so vital as the housing of the people—especially the poor—of the city. The children and people coming from bad homes, from houses which are insanitary and immoral, from tenements which are festering spots of crime and disease, you can never build up into a citizenship worthy of the city of Chicago. Fifteen years ago very little attention was paid to the housing of this city.

"Perhaps the most marked progress with reference to the housing condition is that of the city plan of the Commercial Club, a most wonderfully comprehensive plan for the housing of the people of the city. In addition to this, we have the city Department of Health, which, under Chief Sanitary Inspector Ball, has progressed wonderfully in improving the sanitary conditions of this city. In addition, we have the City Homes' Association, and the City Club, with its exhibits and series of addresses, has done much that is illuminating and educational.

"Lastly, we have the committee which has done much to encourage all movements for housing betterment—the Housing Committee of the Association of Commerce. It has now merged itself with the City Housing Committee, in order that there may be more effective work, but it deserves commendation for the work it did in past years."

Of the advancement in public health insurance the dean said: "I do not know of any department that has gone forward so strongly as the Department of Health of our city administration. The Health Department has been honest and most efficient in past years and that is the condition today. You have only to read the report of the commissioner of health to see what a tremendous number of innovations has been established during the last year, to say nothing of the previous years. It

would take at least an hour to tell you of the progress that has been made in this one department."

After reviewing and commending the work of the Visiting Nurse Association, Dean Sumner referred to the work of the Chicago Tuberculosis Association, remarking that the educational propaganda of the organization has been so successful that the city of Chicago has now levied a tax for the use of a municipal commission to build a tuberculosis sanitarium at a cost of \$900,000. Reference was likewise made to the excellent work done by the Infant Welfare Association.

"I wish I might give attention," said the dean, "to the Daily News Fresh-Air Sanitarium; the lying-in hospitals of the city, most of which have come into existence in these fifteen years; the dispensaries; the Illinois Society of Mental Hygiene, a most important organization; the various hospitals which have grown so tremendously, as you can note on every hand."

The attention of the audience was drawn to various other social agencies, the social settlements, playgrounds, universities and the open-air schools.

This complimentary reference was made to the work of the Juvenile Protective Association:

"We would not know what the conditions on the street were in this great city of Chicago with reference to the institutions that break down the character of childhood if it were not for the Juvenile Protective Association, which was the outgrowth of the Juvenile Court Committee. The Juvenile Court Committee raised the money, established the Juvenile Court and financed it until the county was ready to take it over. Since then (1907) the Juvenile Protective Association has grown from 1,000 cases a year to 9,000, and from small expenditures the first year to \$24,000 this year. No organization in the city is of more vital importance to the city or deserves your generous support more than this organization, with Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen its greatest moving factor, as she is in all child welfare work of the city."

And so it was with the schools, the Juvenile Court, the Morals Court, and other specialized courts, with their psychopathic institute adjuncts; with the United Charities and all the forces, indeed, which are seeking to make life in Chicago better and more worth while.

THE LEAGUE TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS

A National League to Limit Armaments has recently been organized. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, thus set forth at the first meeting of the league its objects and motives:

This is, in our view, an American movement, a patriotic movement, and a movement devoid of any interest in or for parties or politics. The opportunity that confronts the people of the United States, and the decisions that are soon to be made, and that are now being made in the hearts and minds of the people, are of graver significance and more far-reaching importance than any that have preceded them in a full half-century.

The situation which now confronts us is one in which we are invited, not to maintain the traditional American policy, but to depart from it. And to depart from it, in the face of the most impressive and emphatic lesson that history records, when that policy has been right.

The great war in Europe has produced two kinds of reaction here in the United States. It has produced in one set of minds the reaction of imitation. It has produced in another set of minds the reaction of avoidance. We are with those who experience the reaction of imitation. When we are told, in terms of most vivid eloquence, that we must be prepared for war, I ask for what war and with whom? Are we to be prepared for war with Canada? How shall we set about better protecting that line, invisible, involving more than 3,500 miles in length, than we have perfected it for one hundred years? How better can we protect our valuable commerce on the Great Lakes than by adhering to the Rush-Baggett agreement in the North, by which we limited ourselves to two small gunboats?

If we are not to be prepared for war with Canada, are we to be prepared for war with Europe? With whom in Europe, and

why, just now? There would have been some theoretical force in an argument five years ago that we should be prepared to defend ourselves against invasion from across the sea; but today, when our friends in every land are bleeding to death before our eyes, exhausting their manhood, impoverishing their resources, destroying their commerce and their trade, bankrupting their treasuries, and using up the raw materials of armaments in the completed instrumentalities of death—why, when they are about to be reduced to exhaustion and starvation, should we arm ourselves against them?

Who is this invisible, this unknown, this unheralded enemy, against whose attacks we are to be prepared? As practical men and women, dealing with facts, facing the realities of politics and life, we ask our militaristic friends for a bill of particulars. Are we to arm to the teeth and draw our resources away from the social and the industrial improvement which thrusts problems upon us on every side, and force them into useless armaments against nobody?

And whose suspicions are we to arouse? When the whole world is looking to us, when the wise men of every nation are saying, "You at least are free from this thing; you at least are in a position to exercise moral persuasion and moral leadership," should we climb down from that high position of consequence into the terrible turmoil of physical conflict and public murder? I say no.

We are concerned, then, not merely with a declaration of high principles and motive and purpose, but we are concerned with the serious business of the education of public opinion. We must direct ourselves to the persuasive, constant, and persistent instruction of the public mind to the end that it may see that the realities of this situation are with the lovers of peace and international amity; that the imaginary aspects of it are with those who desire to prepare for an unknown war.

CIVICS IN BOOKS AND THE PRESS

CITY MANAGING—A NEW PROFESSION

When eight men met in Springfield, Ohio, at the beginning of this month and founded "The City Managers' Association," there was proclaimed the existence of a new profession—city managing—and there expressed itself a new and conscious force for efficient municipal government in this country. Since March, 1908, when Staunton, Virginia, put its government into the hands of one man and appointed Charles E. Ashburner, now manager of Springfield, its "city manager," the movement has spread

until now there are seventeen cities under the commission-manager form; two more have recently adopted the form and a number are to decide the question very shortly. The development has, therefore, not been as rapid as that of the commission plan, but this is natural since the manager plan is a step ahead. Those cities which are ruled by a manager have achieved remarkable results in efficiency and economy—and they are more than satisfied. Probably no mayor of a city has ever had such whole-souled support from his citizens as Manager Henry M.

Waite of Dayton. It was therefore not professional conceit from the city managers at this convention when, in the words of Manager Kenyon Riddle of Abilene, Kansas, they hailed the form of government which they represented as the one most nearly embodying "honesty, system, fairness, harmony, expertness, abolition of rotten politics and consideration of every employe."

The most important theme discussed was, naturally, the training of the city manager. What qualities and education should a man have to fit him to be a leader in the new fight against civic corruption? It was significant that of the eight managers present, six were engineers, one the clerk of a district court and one a business man. Yet these men decided that while a technical education is very desirable, business and executive ability, common sense and honesty were the principal qualifications. Manager Ashburner, president of the association, asserted that it would be on the character of the city manager that the success of the form would depend, and Manager Waite said a city manager should have a fair education, sufficient theory, but not enough to overbalance practicality, and must have honesty and the courage of his convictions. He advised young aspirants to city managing to go to work in a misgoverned city and learn. And perhaps the most important expression of faith in the new government was the announcement that the University of Michigan has established a course designed to fit men for the duties of city manager—a course requiring work in nine different departments. Perhaps in the hands of the future city managers thus trained lies the good government of our cities.—*The Independent*.

The Second Night Court.

Those who know the faults and vices of our administration of justice will not hesitate to commend the judges of the Municipal Court for their decision to establish, for the second time, a night court. Certainly the first experiment, made a few years back, was far from being conclusive. It was said then that in Chicago there is not business to necessitate or justify a night court, with the additional work and expense it involves. No doubt the professional bond leeches and the police chair warmers eagerly concurred in that view. But many of us harbored misgivings and suspended judgment.

Now the night court is revived by the

whole municipal bench, and everybody feels that there will be no involuntary idleness, no ennui and yawning in that institution. If the patrolmen will do their duty and if the city will do its by providing a sufficient force, the night court will have plenty of cases to hear and determine. There are several excellent reasons for the establishment of that court, and not the least excellent is that the straw bond business may be discouraged.

A night court makes a peculiar appeal to the imagination of those whose habits and ways are thoroughly adjusted to the daylight atmosphere. In New York the night court attracts hundreds of visitors interested in social work of any kind. Many of the cases seem especially pathetic and many actually are so because of their occurrence at night—in darkness and loneliness. What impresses the visitor in New York's court is the kindly, intelligent, human way in which the cases are handled. The chief figure there, curiously enough, is not the judge, but the pleasant-faced matron into whose care wayward girls are delivered. She is so wholesome and so quietly efficient that one heaves a sigh of relief as one sees a pale, ill-clad, weeping girl led away by her.

Let the Chicago night court see to it that the same spirit of humanity and intelligence presides over its ministrations. Let it be truly efficient and truly wise.—*The Chicago Tribune*.

Effective Regulation at Last.

Now that the Supreme Court of Illinois has declared constitutional the Chicago ordinance relating to billboards in residential sections, the property owning public has in its own hands the task of regulating the uses and abuses of billboards. The decision in question was won through the persistent efforts of the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club.

The court's ruling does not mean that billboards are to be done away with. However, Illinois municipalities henceforth will be able to regulate the location and construction of billboards. These advertising surfaces have their appropriate places as well as their appropriate uses. But when by their size or their position they obstruct views or mar otherwise attractive neighborhoods, the community should have the power to regulate them out of existence.—*The Chicago Daily News*.

New Type of Truant Officer.

The United States Bureau of Education has been making some country-wide researches in the general subject of school attendance, and Mr. W. S. Deffenbaugh reports the development of a new type of truant officer.

Many communities are discarding the primitive idea that this officer is merely a "kid cop" and recognizing the need for a man—or a woman, in many cases—of intelligence and some administrative ability, because it appears that attendance officers

of the new type are interested in removing fundamental causes of truancy, as he reports, rather than in merely catching the offender.

Students of general conditions have agreed that the chief cause of the failure to obey school attendance laws is "inadequate family life." Probably this phrase signifies "inadequate discipline," for the sad lack of this unpopular detail in children's training is continually brought to public notice. . . . The new truant officer, as he is seen to be developing, is a far better man than his prototype, and he naturally is to receive better pay. Superintendents of some of the largest school systems in the country have agreed in advocating a minimum salary of \$100 a month, with services for twelve months in the year, in order that the officers may be in constant touch with the home conditions of boys and girls. Among other suggestions brought out by general study of the matter is that juvenile courts be given definite authority to place parents as well as children on probation for truancy and delinquency. —The New York Evening Sun.

Entering on a Second Decade.

The American Civic Association entered upon its second decade at a recent meeting in Washington. This association led the fight for the preservation of the scenic beauty and integrity of Niagara Falls. The address of President McFarland dealt with the power development at Niagara and showed how special interests had misrepresented the facts. The proceedings at the meeting are thus summarized by The Outlook:

At this Washington meeting emphasis was also laid on the vital importance of fostering the proper control and development of our national parks. The Dominion of Canada sent its Commissioner of Parks to show what Canada has already done for its national parks. Commissioner Harkin gave credit to the American Civic Association for furnishing the inspiration and the data through which he had been able to formulate and put in practice the orderly plan for developing to the greatest advantage Canada's immense area of national parks; yet nothing of the kind has been

accomplished in the United States save the appointment of a superintendent. It is time for the American people to make known a desire to have the national parks at least as well administered, controlled and guided as are the parks of most of our larger cities.

American cities have generally (the most prominent exception is Washington) grown without adequate planning. A session of the Civic Association's meeting was devoted to setting forth practicable methods of promoting city planning, at which Mr. Thomas Adams, a noted English town planner, who is now civic adviser of the Conservation Commission of Canada, gave an interesting address. In this and a later illustrated address before the joint meeting of the association with the American Institute of Architects, Mr. Adams explained the progress in England in consequence of the governmental action which permits towns to plan, restrict, and advance in true economy and with regard to the efficiency, health, and happiness of the population.

President McFarland's address on "Wanted—American City Planning for American Cities" developed need for more extended consideration of the smaller communities and proposed a federal department of cities analogous to the Department of Agriculture.

An amusing as well as an interesting session of the Civic Association was that devoted to public nuisances, including the billboard. Mr. Jesse Lee Bennett presented a careful study of the legal phase of this question, showing how strongly resentment was being manifested all over the country at signboard intrusions. Two representatives were present from the Billposters' Association of America, both of whom talked and answered questions on "The Billboard from Its Own Angle," without in any way satisfying the audience that the present promiscuous and outrageous sign-posting methods of the country were justifiable. It was the idea of these speakers that when billboards were made on steel frames and surrounded with ornamental borders, with a foot or more of white space between the border and the beer sign, all objection would be removed to the placing of these signs so as to obscure beautiful scenery, great buildings, and fine vistas.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Friday Evening, January 15, Ladies' Night—Yosemite and Other Parks.

Mark Daniels of Washington, holding the newly created position of superintendent of national parks, will give an illustrated lecture on the Yosemite and other national parks. Frank W. Byerly of Colorado will show slides from naturally colored photographs made by him in the Rockies. Hon. Walter L. Fisher will preside. Speaking promptly at 8 p. m. Ladies invited. Special 75c table d'hôte dinner from 6 p. m. Make reservations in advance.

Saturday Luncheon, January 16, Crowded Cars—"Why Are Not Enough Street Cars Run?"

Speakers: Alderman Eugene H. Block, Bion J. Arnold, Walter L. Fisher. Samuel A. Dauchy, chairman. Speaking promptly at 1 p. m.

Monday Luncheon, January 18, State Constitution—"The Essentials of a Good Constitution."

Speaker, Hon. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati, president of the recent Ohio Constitutional Convention. Chairman, Hon. Charles S. Cutting. Speaking promptly at 1 p. m.

Health Exhibition still on view.

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

VOLUME VIII

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1915

NUMBER 2

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CLUB AND PERSONAL NOTES

One of the most successful and pleasant entertainments ever given by the Club in its regular series was that of January 15, when "Yosemite and Other Parks" was the subject of the illustrated lectures and talks by Messrs. Daniels and Byerly. The slides from the naturally colored photographs attracted particular interest. Mr. Daniels' talk was as educational as it was entertaining. Mr. Walter L. Fisher, who presided, told the audience something of his experience, when Secretary of the Interior, with the national park and their Topsy-like growth and bureaucratic management.

The Club had the pleasure of welcoming many guests on that occasion. The entertainment lasted until 10:30, but none left earlier. A little informal speech-making from the floor was a feature of the program.

The traction debate and addresses reported at considerable length in this Bulletin proved to be very spirited and stimulating. Certain digressions and remarks covering side issues on the history of the present traction ordinances have had to be omitted, owing to space limitations. But those who heard the discussion to the end—and the end did not come until 4 o'clock p. m.—felt and said that they had learned a good deal and had obtained a real insight into the present phase of our perpetual traction problem.

Watch for announcements in regard to musical and other entertainments. The committees in charge—one of them has been enlarged—are not idle and their plans and negotiations will soon bear fruit. The only obstacles are financial. Does any member wish to send a generous check to the Entertainment Committee for the promotion of the social and athletic life of the Club?

The Club's Health Exhibit "has passed into history." It reflected credit on all who were concerned in its genesis, direction and unfolding. Now for the next big and important enterprise, a thorough consideration, with exhibits, of the public buildings and grounds of Chicago—the city's assets and property, and what it does with them. In conjunction with this comprehensive subject, plans for a neighborhood center (competitive and other) will be exhibited and discussed. Several such plans have been submitted, and a jury is to consider them.

The Popular Concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the fifth of which is to be given on the 11th of this month, are attracting large and enthusiastic audiences. The City Club and the Civic Music Association have cause for satisfaction in the part they have taken and are taking in promoting these admirable entertainments.

Mr. Robert A. Woods of the South End House, Boston, has published in

pamphlet form the addresses he delivered last year before the American Sociological Association on "The Neighborhood in Social Reconstruction." It is full of sound philosophy and suggestion. This admirable address should be read in connection with the City Club's Neighborhood Center competition and discussion.

Chicago will be the scene of an important meeting of the Emergency Federation of Peace Forces. The conference will be held on the 27th and 28th of this month, and a good attendance from every part of the country is expected. The issues of the great war will be discussed and the cause of peace will be considered in the light of the new conditions and lessons.

STREET CAR SERVICE

At the noonday lunch held in the City Club on Saturday, January 16, 1915, Mr. Samuel A. Dauchy presiding, the subject under consideration was "Crowded Cars; Why Are Not Enough Street Cars Run?" The speakers were Bion J. Arnold, Alderman Eugene H. Block, and Walter L. Fisher. A condensed report of the addresses follows:

MR. BION J. ARNOLD.

"I take it that you are interested in the essentials, in the fundamentals of the questions and the principles underlying them which arise out of any controversy between the Local Transportation Committee and the Board of Supervising Engineers, and particularly those having any possible bearing upon the subject we have under consideration. I shall therefore confine myself to fundamentals during my talk. It is but fair, however, in order that you may have the problem before you in the proper light, to say a few words about the relationship of the different bodies that have to do with this traction matter.

"The Board of Supervising Engineers' function primarily has to do with the creation and the care of the property physically. It has to create conditions under which good service in transportation can be rendered. The board has spent some years in the consideration of that problem, and a sum of eighty-five million dollars in the reconstruction of the physical property of the company. We believe the board has done its full duty in that respect.

"Of course, the board has always been active in getting agreements between the

City Council and the company in order to raise this viaduct or that, or to lower this street or that street, or to change this thing or that thing. Those are the things that the board is supposed to take care of and which have been taken care of, I believe, by putting the property in first class condition for rendering the service which the people want.

"Now, one of the principal limitations on the companies consists in the physical conditions in the downtown district and other places that cannot be overcome either by the action of the board or the action of the companies themselves, namely, the running of too many cars on one street, or, rather, the running of a sufficient number of cars to accommodate the people through the downtown district. We need more tracks at different places if the company is to render better service than is now possible.

"Another thing that the board should not be charged with is the responsibility of getting good service, because it is not within its power—that is to say, the board cannot enforce any recommendation it may make in regard to service; those are things for which the city should bear the responsibility.

"The responsibility of the board with reference to those matters is as follows: Section 10 of the ordinance reads: 'The company hereby agrees to comply with all reasonable regulations of the service of the said street railway system which may be prescribed from time to time by the City Council of said city, and that the approval of any such regulations by the Board of Supervising Engineers shall be binding upon the company (but not upon the city) as to the reasonableness thereof.'

"The responsibility for the good services rests in the City Council, and the responsibility for initiating good service rests there.

"The board, however, is responsible to this extent: The City Council has said that the Local Transportation Committee shall ask the Board of Supervising Engineers for a judgment as to the reasonableness of any measures which are sought to be put into effect, and the board considers those measures, and if it considers the measures proposed reasonable it so reports to the Local Transportation Committee, and then that measure is binding on the company. The board cannot enforce that recommendation.

"Consequently, if the board has made recommendations in the past for the improvement of the service, and they have not been put into effect, it is not the board's fault and the responsibility is not upon the board.

"Now, during our experience of the last six or seven years I don't recollect any order of that kind being put up to the board, to pass upon the reasonableness of it. I do not think there was any, because during the first years of the work the board was primarily concerned in getting the physical property in good condition, and has been designing and supervising the ordering of material and the drafting of orders and contracts for material to get the physical property in good condition, and we have spent a good many million dollars in doing that, and during that time—four years—I don't recall of any order such as I have referred to.

"One company accepted the ordinance and later the other company accepted it, and there has been no complaint during those four years except little incidental troubles in the City Hall because we did not look after things the way it was supposed we should.

"Finally the service began to mend and the board was called upon more often by the Local Transportation Committee to try and improve the service conditions and give it advice in a sort of informal way. It is only within the last few months that these things have begun to come up to us in a proper manner, in a formal way, by asking us to pass upon the reasonableness of the

conditions. Chairman Block has sent them up to us in a proper way. But we have not been able at all times to take care of them in the way that we should like because of our present difficulties.

"We have passed on a great many of such service orders. There have been a number, I believe, which we passed favorably on and recommended additional service. Others we passed unfavorably on. My recollection is it is about an even break. We advised as many service improvements as we advised no improvement. When our observers went to work and checked the lines we found there were certain instances where there should be additional cars put on, and we so advised the Local Transportation Committee. In certain other instances, in about an equal number, I think, we found that the companies were complying with the reasonable standard of service, and we so advised the Transportation Committee.

"Now, you will understand that it is our duty to pass upon the reasonableness or the unreasonableness of such orders as have come before the committee, and we have done it to the extent that we have been able to do it in the time our board has to do it, except certain ones recently put up to us by Chairman Block and his committee. They were sent to us a few days before Christmas and we did not believe it was fair either to the public or to the companies, especially to the companies, to make a check right between the holidays and to judge as to the reasonableness of the service by the holiday traffic. We know that in every large city the holiday traffic is excessive. We know that in every large city there is complaint about the traffic during that period. The board is going to be reasonable and fair and we should not take extreme cases and pass our judgment on those cases.

"We wrote to Chairman Block, saying that we would take this up after the holidays, when the service was normal, and that we would make our recommendations as soon as we could. Meantime, since the service has gotten normal I have had the checkers go out, and we now have about seven or eight of those checks, so that we are ready to make our recommendations as soon as the

board computes the figures from the checks.

"You want to remember also that this board has put up to it many problems relating to transportation which in reality are not problems which it should be asked to handle at all. For instance, the combination of service and uniform rates. We examined all that. We have made innumerable calculations and reports to help the Transportation Committee and the people in general, and to help ourselves, too, thinking such information and reports might later apply to some situation where we might need the knowledge. We did help, and that has been our attitude right along, and we are ready to do it yet.

"Of course, there is criticism. No man on earth will hold membership on this board or hold a place of any kind who can help being criticised, and criticism is to be expected.

"I am not worrying about that criticism, because I know perfectly well that I am on solid ground, and that is enough for me. I and my board are liable to make mistakes, but we will try to do our duty, as we will continue to do so as long as we are on the board.

"Now, since we are considering the service problem, we will consider this fact. That problem is to try to determine on a fair measure of service, on a service standard; and you know that public agitation on that matter has been quite severe; it is so severe that most everybody who is interested at all in the problem is thinking about it. I have informed you as to the board's position and as to what is its duty under the ordinance. I wish to show you now that we are endeavoring to shape up a service standard ordinance, which recently the Transportation Committee, of which Alderman Block is chairman, referred to our board.

"That ordinance was framed, I believe, in such a manner as would comply with the previous recommendation which the board had made in a letter to the Local Transportation Committee, of which Alderman Block was the first chairman, on May 23, 1913. This letter was written to Mr. Block in response to a request by the committee for information from the board regarding that matter. It deals with the cost of the opera-

tion of the property, the gross receipts of the street railway companies and the elevated companies, and after answering the question that was specifically asked, we made this statement as to our service ideal under the form of capital investment consistent with the present value of the properties, taking into account the purchase price in the 1907 ordinance.

"The committee audited annually the accounts, and the expenses necessary to equip the surface line systems, both north and south and east and west surface lines, and the subway system through the business district, in order to determine the probable future operating expenses, and we said that it was necessary to define a measure of service and use this measure of service in determining the proper car service and consequently the number of cars required for that service. We have based our calculations on the assumption that during the non-rush hour period under normal conditions the other portions of the city will be provided for on the basis of the number of passengers that shall pass any given point on any route during a fifteen-minute period, and there shall be the number of feet equal to the number of passengers passing such point on the cars during the same period; and that during the rush hour periods sufficient cars shall pass any given point within each thirty-minute period to carry all passengers who pass by the same point during the same period, and that the car rate should not exceed seventy passengers per car.

"Now, that was the judgment at that time, May 23, 1913, as to the proper service standard, as to what it would be under the conditions that we had to assume, which were clearly stated. Now, we have considered the unified operation through a subway, which was to give us additional tracks through this downtown district. We have unified operation to a certain degree, and that standard can be applied today, but it cannot be applied to its fullest extent. We can apply the fundamentals of it to our present conditions, and we can work out a standard which is applicable to the present time, and that is what we have endeavored to do recently.

"Now, the city has brought in a number of suits against the companies upon

the charge that they are not complying with the proper service ordinances or regulations. But, you understand, that is a question the board has absolutely nothing to do with. The Board of Supervising Engineers has nothing to do with that question. The city has the responsibility of stung under the ordinance, which is a part of the Chicago code for 1911, the language of which is as follows:

"A sufficient number of cars on each surface line to carry passengers comfortably and without crowding shall be provided, which cars shall be run upon a proper and reasonable schedule, and such schedule shall upon request be furnished to the City Council or to any officer of the city designated by the City Council for such purpose."

"Now, the question of what is 'comfortable and without crowding,' and what is 'a reasonable schedule,' that is where the contention will come, and has come already. Until some understanding is arrived at as to what is 'a reasonable schedule' and what is 'comfortably and without crowding,' if there is such a thing, it seems to me that there is bound to be continued litigation under this language.

"In order to get something to measure the service by the board took action. As I say, the City Council on January the 5th put up to us an ordinance purporting to cover this matter, referring to the non-rush hour period, and they put it up to us to show in detail how the thing could be operated and how the thing was operated as far as it has gone. We did not consider it reasonable; the majority of the city representatives and myself agreed that it was not reasonable, and we wrote in language that, we said, if it were added to the ordinance would make it reasonable, and we went before the Local Transportation Committee and stated that that ordinance possibly should be passed, as the chairman and myself had agreed as to its language.

"The city already had had some discussion as to whether we ought not to find some way to try to get a service standard ordinance for the entire twenty-four-hour period. It was thought better to go ahead and do that. I took the position that we were ready on that or-

dinance, if we were asked to report on it, and I said that the city representatives and myself were ready to write into the ordinance such additions which we thought would make it a reasonable ordinance, but I said at the same time that if the city would give us a few more days and allow us to see if we could not submit an ordinance that would cover the entire twenty-four hour period we could do that, and after some discussion that idea prevailed.

"I put before the committee what I thought the ordinance should be. What are the elements of that ordinance? I might state that the ordinance which I believe to be proper is one on which I have had very good help from my entire staff of engineers. I do not pretend to say that it is legally correct, because I am not a lawyer, and I so stated in my letter transmitting it to the committee.

"I want to read a few words from it. That ordinance defines the different periods as follows. These are the non-rush hour periods.

"Every person, firm, company or corporation, owning or operating railway tracks over which street railway cars are operated from point to point within the city of Chicago between the hours of six o'clock a. m. and twelve o'clock midnight (except during the morning or evening rush hours, herein-after provided for) shall, on each separate line or route on which said tracks are located and cars operated thereover, operate cars at such intervals that the cars passing any point on said route in each direction during any consecutive fifteen minutes between said hours shall have an aggregate seating capacity of not less than the number of passengers carried on said cars passing each point in each direction during the said fifteen minutes;

"Provided, however, that wherever cars are operated at a headway of more than three minutes and regular schedules providing for such headway are filed and operated thereunder, as hereinabove required, then the cars shall be so operated as to comply with the following conditions:"

"Here is where the modification had to come in. Down to that point it was acceptable. And these are the provisos:

"Provided, however, that wherever cars are operated at a headway of more

than three minutes, and regular schedules providing for such headway are filed and operated thereunder, as hereinabove required, then the cars shall be so operated as to comply with the following conditions:

"(a) That during each and every thirty minutes' period, the cars passing any point on such line or route in each direction shall have an aggregate seating capacity of not less than the aggregate number of all passengers carried on said cars passing said point within said period of thirty minutes, and——"

"The reason of that is that the cars become crowded in the downtown district, and in checking them over we will find that the headway is frequent and close together. It is fair to take the fifteen-minute period for checking purposes, and that as those cars get loaded up to whatever their capacity is, they must carry that load through to the destination of the load. They cannot, the minute they get out of the downtown district where the headway increases, throw their passengers out in order to comply with the service standard; they must carry those passengers through to the destination. Consequently, we must take the average of the greater number of cars than would pass in possibly fifteen minutes, so that you must get your average for a greater number of cars than would apply to any one period of fifteen minutes.

"I can explain that. I have a map which shows how the people flock into the central business districts from the country, and back at night. My provision is to take care of that in the service standard.

"The next proviso is this:

"(b) That each and every group of three consecutive cars, passing any point on said line or route in each direction, shall have an aggregate seating capacity for the three cars of not less than the aggregate number of passengers carried on said cars passing said point whenever the average time, interval, or headway between said cars is greater than ten minutes; provided, however——"

"That is to say, whenever a headway is greater than ten minutes we insist on running the cars so that the average three cars will have a standard seating capacity which we determine will be a

comfortable load while getting to the more sparsely populated districts of the city. It would mean better service than it would if we had a greater number of cars.

"Now, another thing:

"Provided, however, that at no other time or place on any said lines or routes shall there be operated less than one car during each and every twenty-minute period between said hours."

"In other words, we made all these assessments to fit our varying traffic rate, and we finally peeled it down by saying that no place in the city shall the headway be less than twenty minutes between cars. We would like to get it down to ten minutes, although that would not be fair to the companies under the present conditions. There are places where the headway is twenty minutes and some places where the headway is considerably more. When we got it down to twenty minutes, so that the company should operate cars at not less than twenty minutes apart, we got somewhere. There we have an absolute standard service. Of course, it is the ideal that for everybody in the world who wants to ride on the street car there should always be a seat. But we cannot get that. I do not think that can be brought about in any American city under the present conditions. We have gone as far towards that as we think is reasonable, and we so decided in the terms of this ordinance.

"Now, just a step further and I will finish this:

"Rush hour periods, for the purpose of determining compliance with the service standard provisions in this ordinance are defined to be the morning and evening periods between the hours of 6:30 o'clock a. m. and 9:30 o'clock a. m., and 4:15 o'clock p. m. and 6:45 o'clock p. m., respectively, Sundays and holidays excepted, and said rush hour periods shall be considered as comprising:

"(a) A maximum thirty-minute interval after said rush hour period during which the maximum passenger travel within said rush hour occurs, and

"(b) The remainder of the two and one-half rush hour period preceding the following said thirty-minute maximum interval to be known as the transition

period during which the traffic demand is increasing or diminishing between the average non-rush and maximum rush conditions; provided, however, that, and in order to adjust the rush hour periods to actual traffic conditions in different parts of the city, the persons, firm, company or corporation may, for different locations throughout the city, designate the morning and evening rush hour period of two and one-half hours, which period may vary from the above mentioned period by beginning earlier and ending earlier or by commencing later and ending later, as traffic conditions may require. Written notice of such operation in rush hour conditions shall, when approved by the Commissioner of Public Service, be filed immediately with the Board of Supervising Engineers.'

"I have a diagram which shows these two and one-half-hour rush periods, beginning at 6:30 o'clock a. m., with a car seating forty people as its steady load, beginning at the rush hour period, and from forty passengers we jump up to fifty or sixty, in the first hour of that period, and then we run up thirty minutes for an average load which jumps up from sixty to seventy. Finally we run along thirty minutes, when we get a seating load of seventy to eighty, and then for a thirty-minute period in the rush hours we fix a certain standard, and then again we drop down to the original standard and go back gradually until we get to forty seats. And then we go on as follows:

"During such rush hour periods, as defined in paragraph three hereof, every person, firm, company, or corporation owning any tracks over which any street railway is operated from point to point in the city of Chicago, shall operate past any point or any run or route in each direction a sufficient number of cars to comply with the following standard of service:

"(a) During the maximum thirty-minute interval of said two and one-half rush hour period (within which the greatest passenger travel of said rush period occurs) the average number of passengers per car per said thirty-minute interval of said rush period shall not exceed the actual number of car seats provided in said cars passing said point during said intervals, and, in addition

thereto, the average number of standing passengers not to exceed one standing passenger for each . . . seat of net standing space, as hereinafter defined in this section.'

"That provision is to take care of the peak rate of the day's travel during the winter and summer months, during the day, and the Commissioner of Public Service has power to check that at any given point on the line as these points are designated by the company, but the commissioner is not prevented from checking anywhere else if he wants to, but he must check at those points, and those particular points at which he must check must vary from day to day and from season to season.

"(b) During each of the two thirty-minute intervals of said transition period immediately preceding and following said maximum thirty-minute rush referred to in paragraph (a) in this section, the average number of passengers carried per car, within either of said two thirty-minute transition intervals, shall not exceed the actual number of car seats provided, as aforesaid, and in addition thereto the average number of standing passengers not to exceed one standing passenger for each square foot of net standing space, as hereinafter defined in this section.'

"The reason I did not write that figure in was that I felt—especially since they have the authority to pass on this matter—that they probably will want to give some study to the question of the elements involved before they write that figure in there.

"The second space to be filled in would be a greater number of square feet per standing passengers than the other one, inasmuch as the first one in paragraph (A) refers to the rush-hour period when people must stand more thickly than at the other time.

"Then follows the other section:

"(c) during each of the two remaining thirty-minute intervals of said two and one-half hour rush periods, the average number of passengers carried per car, within either of said two thirty-minute transition intervals, shall not exceed the actual number of car seats provided, as aforesaid; and in addition thereto, the average number of standing passengers not to exceed one standing passenger for

each——square feet of net standing space, as hereinafter defined in this section.

“(d) During each of the said two and one-half rush-hour periods as defined in paragraph (b) hereof, there shall be operated not less than the actual number of cars being operated in the non-rush hours of the day as certified in paragraph 2 in complying with the service requirements for said non-rush hours.”

“If we did not do that it would be possible for them to take off some of the cars.

“In other words, we wish always to be sure of having as many cars running as usual during the day when they give a seat for every passenger. In addition they have to comply with the service requirements for non-rush hour periods.

“Finally we provide that the railroads shall file with the Commissioner of Public Service a complete list of all the cars the company owns and operates, and that said schedule shall contain the number of standing spaces filled out for each car according to the rule which we have laid down here; and it shall figure out space enough for comfortable standing, and then we define for ourselves what is standing space, and that gives us the basis; the company must file such schedule of cars with the Commissioner of Public Service, the number of the cars, the load of the cars, and so forth, according to those figures. Then we can tell whether a car is loaded or overloaded.”

ALDERMAN BLOCK:

“The history of the transportation of the City of Chicago is interesting, and it will not be necessary for the purpose of our discussion to go further back than 1907. I shall speak about the 1907 ordinance as the one that we are directly interested in, which contains that clause which Mr. Arnold has read to you, which provides for a sufficient and efficient service. That ordinance gives the City Council the right to prescribe service regulations. From time to time this was attempted, and one of the features of the 1907 ordinance provides for through routing. That was brought to the attention of the City Council, and the Board of Supervising Engineers brought to the attention of the City Council the unpopu-

larity of through routing with the companies.

The car that originated in a territory owned and operated by one company went into another company's territory and ended in it, it traveled over either a lean or a fat territory, and since the nickels did not go to a common pot, there was always bickering and contention between the companies, and consequently it made the through routing of the cars unpopular. You can see how the company was not insistent on through routing.

“Another difficulty that we found from the dual operation was the congestion in the loop district, and all the correspondence of the Committee on Local Transportation and the agents of the road making recommendation was met with the argument that until we unified operation the condition could not be remedied.

“However, an ordinance was passed on November 13, 1913, and went into operation the first of February, 1914, and in that ordinance we reported a 30 per cent betterment. We had a lengthy discussion and figures were given to us by the board, giving us the basis for such betterment and promise of such betterment.

“After the ordinance had been in operation several months and these betterments did not appear fast enough, we had considerable correspondence with the Board of Supervising Engineers, and then I resurrected their letter of May 13 or May 23 in which Mr. Arnold gave us an idea of what the capital account would be in the future, and what the possible earnings would be of the company in the future, and what, therefore, we could expect in the way of a return in service.

“In that letter there was contained a so-called service standard; there was also contained in that letter a clause that the service standard was predicated upon an expenditure of 65 per cent of the gross receipts. You gentlemen all know, and every business man knows, that to have a betterment in any branch of business which has been running down, means large expenditures, or else additional economies. The economies, I think, have perhaps been assisted to a very fine point.

“The operating expenditures, to get down to the minimum, I think are about

61½ or 62 at the present time. And when you get down to the operation question you can't expect anything better. But it is necessary, in order to improve the system to have some money spent. Therefore, any standard service that is based upon operating expense we now have will fail unless the company shows some willingness to go to work and spend more money.

"A communication was sent some time prior to that to the Board of Supervising Engineers, and they gave us a lengthy report on conditions; in that report a table set forth the number of cars required, based upon the service standard Mr. Arnold speaks of, the standard of May 23, 1913. Taking that table and the approximate number of cars necessary, or were used, I found that it would be necessary at the present time to have 305 more cars in operation on the streets. I framed that into a letter and had it discussed before our committee, and that letter was referred to the Supervising Engineers.

"The Board sent back a letter, which in some way modified the service standard, for the reason that the conditions were such that all of the benefits had not been derived, and that 228 cars were necessary at this particular time to absorb the street space that was had at that time.

"The 228 cars were just ordered, and I understand from the last report that 61 of those cars are now in the streets of the city of Chicago, and the rest are coming on at the rate of one or two a day.

"While this was going on, in order to go to work and check up any of the service, it is absolutely necessary that the details be given. The City Council had been hampered by not having any organization which could go on the streets and make an actual check of the service; and not having made a check we could not go before the Council and make a recommendation.

"The City Council is not a body of experts. It is a body of men called from every walk of life, and they are there to use common sense and judgment in the management of the public affairs of the city. But there must be investigation; there must be reports coming to them based on expert knowledge. And

therefore, the Public Service Commission was created, and the actual work of that body, the bureau which had to do with transportation affairs, actually got to work about July 1 on this matter. And, thereafter Mr. Kelker, who was in charge of these matters, received numerous complaints which came to the attention of the Council, and they were referred to him and in return he made recommendations.

"Now there seems to be some misapprehension in the mind of Mr. Arnold. The Committee on Local Transportation is composed of members of the Council. It is the Council itself that prescribes, not the Committee on Local Transportation. Any act or any recommendation or any order must come to the City Council. The Council has given the right and it has made it the duty of the local transportation committee to go into the merits of each particular complaint and to make recommendations. If a recommendation is passed by the Committee and taken into City Council and passed, it is an order. Since we have established Mr. Kelker's department, we have rigidly enforced that, so that today we have 12 orders on 12 different streets throughout the city.

"Our experts always take the worst feature of the situation in the city and predicate upon that a hypothetical feature in the loop district, and they predicate the condition at Kedzie avenue on the cross town lines which never see the loop. Because there is a scarcity of street space, or because there is scarcity of rail space in the down town loop district, why should that condition govern the traffic in 12th street or any other place, say at Western avenue?

"Now, the service standard that intends to take this whole situation and tries to prescribe a remedy so elastic that it can be fitted to all these different extreme conditions, is, I think, an impossibility.

"I am perfectly free to state that so long as you allow the companies to violate the small contract that they entered into in 1907, so long as we allow them to violate the small contract that was gone into in 1913, in the unification ordinance, so long will they break these contracts. But if we make it more expensive to them to break the law, they

will go to work and live up to the contracts.

"There is no man in this room that has not made a contract and does not know what a contract is. We are in a most peculiar situation here in Chicago. When we break a contract, when we filch from the people's pocket a dollar, of that dollar, on the basis of 45 and 55, we get 55 cents of swag. And the poor fellow or the poor girl who get into a car at night contributes to that 100 per cent. So that when we talk about a standard that will take in the great diversity of conditions, I want to be very sure before voting for it, for I do not want to allow the company to crawl away from its responsibility. I am not speaking as an expert; I am not an expert. I am wanting to see that the public gets proper transportation. It should be made absolutely imperative that the company should live up to the conditions imposed.

"For instance, the city ordinance establishes certain points for checking. We tell the company: 'We want a check at this point,' and the company then establishes a period for that point, because the company makes the schedule and that rush hour period is furnished by them to the city. This must be done by the company in five days. The Commissioner must make sure that the traffic is normal at that point, otherwise there is no check. Now, that would interfere with that situation.

"You must attend to that condition before you can go to work and make any check. The check must be made at the same time, at the same point, three of those checks within the five days, and the three checks must show a violation before we can proceed. If it is possible that these checks show three violations within five days, and having in mind that the traffic was normal at those particular times, then, we have to give the company ten days notice, and the company has the right to take ten days to rectify the condition at that particular point. After the ten days are up, the city is compelled to make another check. It is not clear in my mind in the ordinance whether that check is a simple check or whether it is another check of three within five days. I have not been able to discover the

meaning of the ordinance. That point has not been thrashed out. If, however, we find that the check after the ten days elapsed again shows a violation, then, we can go into the court and prove our case.

"Then there is another sentence which provides in case the company does not operate its cars on schedule time. I am not quite clear as to what that means. The company does make its own schedule and we get copies of it. Now, it won't do to say that the schedule is a perfect schedule. That is almost impossible. It cannot be done. I shall be very glad to have the matter explained later on. There is no disposition to criticise. We have only the desire to go to work on it in some way, so that we can do the thing properly.

"These 12 orders that were passed according to the letter of the 1907 ordinances were sent over to the companies for enforcement, and we were told by Mr. Busby of the surface lines that they were unreasonable. I want to go into court, and prove before the Honorable Chief Justice that the things that we asked were subjects of bitter complaints by the public at those particular places. And after we had formulated them into an order, he comes in and tells us, without going to the Board of Supervising Engineers, as the law provides, without asking them whether they are reasonable or not, that they are unreasonable.

THE CHAIRMAN "Alderman Block, under this ordinance, did the Board of Supervising Engineers recommend anything to the City Council?"

ALDERMAN BLOCK: "The proper procedure is this: A report or complaint comes to the Council. It is read off at the Council meeting, and the thing is referred to the Committee on Local Transportation, and the Committee takes it up, and if there is a department to make investigation, the investigator comes in with a recommendation. The committee reports the recommendation to the Council and the Council passes upon it and makes an order on it."

MR. ARNOLD: "It does not go to the Board at all?"

ALDERMAN BLOCK: "It does not get to the Board. I claim that the purpose of having an attorney is to get somewhere near the truth as to reason-

ableness of any order, and that when a reasonable body of men, such as the City Council is presumed to be, properly pass on a complaint the proof of unreasonableness rests upon the company, and not upon the Council. Consequently we have referred these orders to the companies and they have put it over us by saying that they were unreasonable. Whether the Board concurs in that, I don't know. That is the way the ordinance prescribes, and we adhere to it rigidly, but we have not done it until recently, because we have now a department that can give attention to these questions, and not only do the checking, but tell us what the conditions are in these particular respects, and having evidence as to the violations, make recommendations.

"Then, gentlemen, there came a rumor to the committee, I am sorry to say, by some of the committee—saying that we should be more reasonable; that before we made these orders, or passed upon these complaints, we ought to send them over to the Board of Supervising Engineers. A member of those, fifteen, or so, were sent over there. I did not want to be charged with delaying the work, so I said: Let us send them over these fifteen and others beside that, and they are awaiting the decision of the board. That is in accordance with the 1907 ordinance. And for the purpose of harmony we asked the Board to say whether our analysis of these questions is a reasonable one or not. Upon that we have not as yet received an answer.

"So that, after all, gentlemen, we are getting together as reasonable men, as an organization of men responsible for this, and we should thrash out these matters and do something. The Local Transportation Committee of the City Council, by a good many of its members, has attempted to the very best of their ability to go to work and give you better service. We have met with some rebuffs and obstacles.

"Now, gentlemen, I want to take a few minutes to show a few of the remedies that are to be effected at this time.

"First, I object, and seriously, that a body of engineers should sit in closed room and discuss the conditions pertaining to the welfare of the public, of the traveling public.

MR. ARNOLD: "The room is never closed."

ALDERMAN BLOCK: "It is the interest of the public, and I think publicity will be of the greatest benefit. When the Board of Supervising Engineers discusses the question of transportation remedies I think that the public, the press and everyone should be notified to participate.

"Another thing that causes great confusion is the diversified standard of cars. We have standards and standards. You may have noticed only recently a very strenuous effort to put a few signs on, "Enter in Front." I ride up and down Cottage Grove avenue where we have three types of cars. You will see a woman with her child, or a number of bundles, or without any encumbrances, try to get on the steps in front, and then a fellow gives her the sign to get to the rear. There is delay. It is unreasonable. It is something that never should happen.

"Then there should be some systematized signs giving the public notice of changes. During the summer months while we had our vacation the company took off some through routes; this they had no right to do, but they did it. They never notified the public. For instance, there was Route Number 2. Serious complaints were made by some of the business men on Clybourn avenue. They had arranged their stores so that it would let their patrons go there by taking a certain car at a certain point, believing that those cars would bring them to their doors and to their places of business. Without notice to the public, this was changed.

"I think the ordinance makes a serious mistake when it contemplates that a change shall be made upon any schedule upon any street that the Council, or the body which has the jurisdiction in the Council, is not expected to go into the details of that matter, study it with the company, and see whether that change is a proper change.

"We all know that it is a complicated matter to write schedules. When those changes are made and those schedules are written out, it means great expense, and when they send them to the City Council, the only thing that can be done is to approve them or else make a new

one. And that is a waste of money. If there is any change made, it should be made not by the company alone, but by the company and the city.

"I had intended to go further into the matter of the service standard, but I do not think it is proper at this time to do so, because it is a subject for consideration by the Council and by the Committee on Local Transportation."

MR. WALTER L. FISHER:

"Alderman Block, I want to ask one question, and I want you to answer it squarely, because I don't know. Mr. Arnold has stated that the Board of Supervising Engineers recommended for passage some of a number of specific recommendations for the improvement of the service. Has the City Council approved of any one of those, has any one of those recommendations been favorably reported on?"

ALDERMAN BLOCK: "The reports that were made by Mr. Arnold stated that the companies had acceded to the demands and were now in operation and consequently an order was not necessary."

MR. ARNOLD: "Oh no. I have a list of about twenty, where we recommended improved service, 18 or 20, and about the same number where we did not."

ALDERMAN BLOCK: "These demands, these violations, were referred to the Committee on Local Transportation a year back. Every word, every communication—every word ever spoken by any member of that committee in any regular meeting is a matter of record. And so I beg of you that if by any letters an attempt is made to prove that the city of Chicago or the Local Transportation Committee has not done its duty, I want to be heard upon that. I would like to read one letter, that is the facsimile of a letter of November 3, 1914, as to Kedzie avenue. I have dozens of them, but here is the recommendation.

"I beg to say that a check of the service was taken during this morning and evening rush hours, October 22. This check shows that the service furnished on the street with respect to headway and number of cars is equal to that furnished at rush hours throughout the city, and therefore does not seem to call for change. The only cause of heavy

loading was due to excessively bad intervals between cars."

"Now, gentlemen, what I requested in that letter was that at Thirty-third and Kedzie avenue the cars that made their last trip would be allowed to proceed to Sixty-third street, rather than to dump their load at Forty-third and Kedzie avenue. And that was denied. That is my explanation in there. The last run from Forty-third to Sixty-third street takes up only a few minutes, and rather than to make them finish their run to the extreme end of the line, for the purpose of saving a few cents, the company dumps the passengers at Forty-third and Kedzie avenue, and they allowed those people to stand there in the snow and rain to await the next car, which may be loaded to the gates.

"And that is why we requested a ruling as to the reasonableness of it, and it was turned down."

MR. FISHER: "The question I asked was not asked for any other purpose than to get at the facts of the case. My question is, Has the Local Transportation Committee favorably reported any one of the recommendations made by the Board of Supervising Engineers for the improvement of the service?"

MR. ARNOLD: "Here is a letter, Alderman, recommending an improvement of the service."

MR. FISHER: "That is the Hyde Park trouble."

MR. ARNOLD: "It is a recommendation."

MR. FISHER: "We cannot take the time to go into the recommendations in detail. I want to know whether Alderman Block remembers whether they have acted on any report made by the Board of Supervising Engineers; whether he does or not?"

MR. ARNOLD: "We made the recommendation to an increase in the service of about ten or twelve cars."

ALDERMAN BLOCK: "In what length of time?"

MR. FISHER: "I want to get some one to answer that question. That is the situation, isn't it, gentlemen? That is the situation, isn't it, Alderman Block?"

"Complaints come to the members of the Council and the members of the Council seek to see the conditions and

investigate the complaints. But all of those complaints are referred to the Committee on Local Transportation. Some of them are referred to the Board of Supervising Engineers and some of them are not. Those that are referred to the Board of Supervising Engineers, that Board reports on it adversely or favorably, after an investigation. It reports to this committee, and it becomes operative. If the committee reports favorably upon the recommendations, that recommendation is either at once put into effect by the street railway companies, without any more controversy, and the people at once get the improved service, or the Committee on Local Transportation of the City Council is obviously derelict in its duty if it does not pass a mandatory ordinance compelling it to do it. Because the ordinances of 1907 make that the absolute duty of the Transportation Committee, and the company compulsorily has to comply with any improvements in the service which the City Council orders, and which the Board of Supervising Engineers approves.

"You cannot get away from it by any subterfuge you may want to adopt. There is only one thing wrong with the ordinance of 1907, and that is, that it cannot enforce itself. There is no such thing as an automatic ordinance. When we passed the ordinances of 1907, one of the most important questions that we had up to consider was: How are we going to get an improvement of service? The ordinances provided in general terms that the company must do it, and it made those terms just as drastic as human mind could make it.

"Section 35 of the City Railway ordinances—and the same provision, the same thing is in the other ordinances—is as follows:

"'Nothing in these ordinances contained shall be construed as depriving the said city of the right of exercising any police powers which it possesses and enjoys, had these ordinances not been granted.'

"Is there anything the matter with that? It has the right to exercise any of its powers.

"The enumeration herein of special requirements and specific regulations shall not be taken or held to imply relinquishment by the said city of its power to

make other requirements or regulations and the said city hereby expressly reserves the right to make all regulations which may be necessary to secure in the most ample manner the safety, welfare and the accommodation of the public, including among other things the right to form and enforce ordinances to protect the public from danger or inconvenience in the management and operation of street railways, throughout the city, and the right to make and enforce all such regulations as it shall be reasonably necessary to secure adequate and sufficient street railway accommodations for the people, and to insure their comfort and convenience.'

"Now, can Alderman Block, the State's Attorney, or the Corporation Counsel, or all of them together, with their heads together, devise a more drastic ordinance or more drastic language than that?

"You cannot write a schedule in an ordinance—I mean, in a general franchise ordinance. And why put it in there, if the City Council can order the company to come in here at the end of the year?

"And in order to entirely box the compass and take care of it, it is provided in another section that the company is held to agree to it. This ordinance was framed upon the advice of men who had given such things their study and had studied every traction ordinance that I know of of importance in this country at the time these ordinances were passed, and who had considerable familiarity with the question. There is no ordinance written by any city council in the United States from one end of the land to the other which compares with it in the provision of such a drastic regulation of the service. It is a check on the management in the interests of the people of the city. It is a check on dishonest management. And the companies were compelled to adopt it and it is here and the city can enforce it.

"Look around you and see what happened. These ordinances were adopted in 1907, and by the City Council, rejected. They were submitted to a referendum of voters in this city, and they were approved by a majority of 33,000. There has not been a franchise on a traction question passed from that day

on, from 1907 until now, that has not specifically provided that it should be within the lines and subject to the terms and conditions of these ordinances. Every City Council, every Mayor, every Corporation Counsel, has stood for that proposition and insisted upon it. These ordinances are now being criticised by voluntary election of the representatives of these people in the Council and out of the Council, in the city hall, by people in any capacity. It is only just before a municipal election that you hear any question about it.

"Alderman Block has said that he is not going back of the ordinances of 1907. But I want to go back of those 1907 ordinances long enough to ask you to think for a few moments back of them and try to recall the conditions which existed in this city before those ordinances were passed. Just recall the old cable cars, and the trailers, and what kind of cars they were, and what kind of tracks they ran over, and the physical condition of the property before the passing of the 1907 ordinances. Now, the Board of Supervising Engineers under these ordinances have their attention confined pretty much to the rehabilitation of the physical properties of the street railway companies. It was up to them to say whether or not the service regulations when they were established by the City Council—it was up to them to say whether the service regulations were or were not reasonable. It took a long while to bring about that rehabilitation of the street railway systems, naturally. Very naturally as to service regulation matters, many questions would arise, and under those conditions, I suppose there was some excuse for the delays occasioned by these various negotiations during that period of time.

"Now, what happened? Mayor Harrison ran for election, now nearly four years ago, and he was running on a political combination which accepted the support of the Hearst newspapers. The Hearst newspapers opposed the ordinances of 1907. You gentlemen may all remember having read the headlines which stated that the net receipts would be net receipts on their solemn word of honor, and so on. But those people who were assured that there would be no receipts, after the first year found

that there was a large profit of \$1,000,000, and now \$2,500,000 a year, and there has not been a single year gone by that there has not been a large profit through the adoption of the ordinances of 1907. But I have been anxious to make good in some other direction on these ordinances. What has Mayor Harrison done to enforce the service regulations on these ordinances? The Mayor has appointed Mr. Homer Buckley, President of the South Side Street Railway Men's Union, to advise him in regard to conditions. Now, what has the president of a street car men's union to do with that? He may be a very proper man in regard to operating cars, but how about the question of rates? If you can imagine that Mr. Buckley has any other interest in this question than in the operating, I would like to know it. I don't mean intentionally, but unintentionally that is his position. He, at least, knows something about transportation and that, *prima facie*, ought to be sufficient to qualify him in regard to transportation questions, but has there been shown any desire for co-operation, or for any co-operative action between the Board of Supervising Engineers and the Public Service Commission and the Committee on Local Transportation? Has there been any co-operative spirit in order to work these things out?

"In the old days they told us to be very careful to invite a representative of the city to come, but not the Board. A member of the city is one thing, and the Board is another. The company had a representative there. Mr. Arnold's man sits between them; he is put right in between them. The man that is asked there is not the Board, but the city's representative on the Board. I know that Mr. Bemis was appointed in regard to the rate question. He is a first-class man in many respects. I don't know whether he could qualify as an engineer or not. The city should be represented by a qualified engineer. It is a fact, and I have sat at the Board meetings and I know, that Mr. Bemis is not asked every time as to a lot of these questions, because the Board has to go into the most complicated questions that you can imagine, and there are a good many such in regard to the transportation system of this

city. A qualified engineer would know about them.

"Now, let us get down to the bottom of this thing. The way I happened to get into this matter at all after I came from Washington was this. When I got here in the fall of 1913, the ordinance for the unification of the street railway system was pending in the city of Chicago, and some members of the City Council came into my office to see me and asked me if I had read it. I had not read it at all. They asked me what I thought about it, and after I had read it I told them that I thought the ordinance was very loosely drawn. I told them that I thought it was exceedingly loosely drawn. I asked them if it had been put up for the opinion of the Corporation Counsel, and they said it had, and that the Corporation Counsel's office had found no fault with it and had so stated to them. They had made some possible suggestions to the Corporation Counsel, and had called particular attention to the fact that there was a provision in the ordinance which would ratify the processes of accounting between the city and the companies which had prevailed during the past seven years. 'Very well,' I said, 'I assume that is being taken care of.'

"They asked me to look it over and I looked it over, and I concluded immediately that there was one thing necessary, at least, that if they were going to approve the division of the cost, of the gross profit, in the way that they had divided them, because no question had been raised about it until the discussion, I thought that it was necessary to increase the reserve fund. I told them that it was very necessary to draw up amendments to that effect and that I would get them out if necessary, so as to provide for the increase of that reserve fund.

"I personally drew up eleven or twelve amendments to that ordinance, and I was most careful about it, and I sent them down to one of the members of the City Council and to Alderman Block, and I said that if Alderman Block wished to have them put in that he should call a conference of the City Council and the Corporation Counsel's office.

"Now, that is all that I had to do with

the unification ordinance. And I will say to you right now that in trying to work out a solution of these various transportation problems there should be more constant and close co-operation between the various departments of the city in this regard if we are going to get good service at any time in the near future.

"We have had controversies over office accounting. There was a provision for office accounting and the Corporation Counsel's office called attention to it and gave a written opinion as to what would be the effect of it. That opinion reopened the question as to the construction of the ordinance of 1913, but the Corporation Counsel finally, after some little delay, handed down an opinion in which he said that his previous opinion was only intended to deal with the question of accounting and not the construction of the ordinance, and that he now held that it did not have any such effect in reference to the State's Attorney of Cook County, as he had previously expressed. If we set aside the provision of the ordinance providing for an accounting between the city and the two companies, what do we get out of it? If we set aside the unification ordinance, what do we get out of it? Can you trust the two companies to make a proper accounting? Stop a minute and think of what a very peculiar situation you have there. We want a unified service. Can you imagine them working out a legal tangle so as to get the system into an absolute unity as with one single corporation? You would have to wait until they did that until you got your unified service. Well, if you don't get that, what shall we do? We shall go back to divisional operation; we shall go back to the good old days that Alderman Block himself points out because we get into a legal tangle. There cannot be any through routes because there are so few cars that could be run on those routes. And that, notwithstanding, gentlemen, that the ordinance of 1907 expressly establishes through routes. It establishes that there must be through routes and it provides that there must be enough cars running on those routes to take care of all the traffic on them. If they did not run enough cars on their lines that could be proved in a

court of competent jurisdiction, and all that was necessary to collect the fine was to sue under the ordinance. That is all it was necessary to do in that connection so as to see that the city got first class street railway service.

"Now, let us consider just a few moments the situation with regard to what to do in regard to downtown subways. There is a lot of confusion about it, and I see that there are a lot of people here in this room who believe it is a mistake to construct downtown subways. I do not believe that it is a mistake. Some people think that there should be subway lines that do not go down through the center of the city—cross town lines and through routes established that do not go through the loop at all. I agree with that. But there is absolutely nothing you can do in this connection until you get the matter taken out of politics. You cannot get good service until you take this matter out of politics and consider it and study the problem as a city problem and apply technical knowledge, as Alderman Block says, 'Horse sense,' and arrive at the proper solution of the matter. If the various parties will get together we shall be able to get somewhere and you have got a very simple problem to handle. As it stands now, we all know that there are no transfers allowed between the elevated and the surface lines. The result of that is that the elevated lines do not properly serve their function. People who have to ride long distances, through route passengers, use the surface lines and they do not use the surface and elevated lines interchangeably. If we establish a combined system of elevated and surface lines with the interchange of transfers between them, we shall take off of the surface lines immediately enough of those people who now crowd onto them for long distance travel, and you will be able to take care of the short haul people with far greater comfort and convenience.

"There are certain physical conditions connected with this city that you never can get away from and which are going to continue in the future as they have in the past. Here in Chicago we are face to face with this proposition that we must study the retail business conditions. It is a situation which is present in every

city in Christendom, that there is a large retail district, and that means that you are going to bring to that district a larger number of people than you are going to bring to any other part of the city. This city is fan-shaped. The east side of it, of course, is shored off by the lake. But the city extends out like a fan from the center with radial lines which run out diagonally crosswise north, south and west, with cross lines intersecting. It entails a more complicated situation than you will find as regards traffic in any other city, but you cannot help that. How will you take care of it?

"You should start in with your initial system of subways which will take the cars, as many of them as possible, from the surface, going under the river in a tunnel, which will bring them up on the surface so as to cause congestion of traffic on the streets. You should not bring them up on the surface until you get beyond the point of congestion. If you do that you will find that the merchants of the city will try and establish their places of business along those lines of transportation. Nowadays there is a constant tendency to edge into the loop because the transportation facilities enable the patrons of the merchants most conveniently to get to them there.

"You must fix your transportation system so that there will be an opportunity for expansion. If you do that you will find that the merchants and manufacturers will take advantage of it. Of course, you must come to a proper solution of the entire problem of the construction of railroad terminals and for this suburban service especially. We discussed this matter with an authority on the subject in the city of London, who told us that there was not any difference of opinion among intelligent men of experience in regard to this subject, that suburban service should be through routed in the interest of the public and in the interest of the citizens generally. He said that the street railroad and the elevated railroad systems here ought to be unified and that that would provide a solution of our problems, and that we will not get it any other way.

"But, if we are to accomplish anything, we must do it by electing to public office men who are interested in these

questions from the standpoint of public policy and service, and not from the standpoint of politics."

THE IMMIGRATION BILL*

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. George W. Perkins): "Before introducing the speakers invited to speak upon this important question, now agitating the public mind, I believe there are one or two fundamental questions that I think should find lodgment in your minds in order that you may more readily grasp what the speakers may say.

"The literacy test in the present immigration law is generally charged to organized labor. We accept the full responsibility for being sponsor for the literacy test. However, in the Fifty-ninth Congress, in 1907, Congress appointed a commission, not of labor men but of public-spirited people, educators, and so forth, to take under advisement the question of amending the immigration laws, and to report its findings to a subsequent Congress. In 1910 this commission, not a labor commission, made its final report, and among the seven recommendations which they urged should be added to the present immigration law, the very first one was the literacy test. So that this is not purely a labor measure. As further evidence of the fact there are many others interested in this literacy test who fully indorse it, it is only necessary to read the names of those who appeared before the President in advocacy of this measure, among them being college presidents, professors, and so forth.

"Let me call this one important fact to your attention—nearly all foreign countries regulate, first, emigration, and, directly or indirectly, immigration. Nearly all foreign countries seriously object to the thrifty, hardy productive citizen leaving that country. But they do not place any obstacle in the way of the gentleman who, from their standpoint, is decrepit, deficient, physically or mentally. We are welcome to those.

"Labor, briefly, wants to keep or bar out ignorance or superstition. It really is not an effort on our part to prevent

the passage of immigration laws which admit productive and desirable citizens from any particular country.

"The Club for this occasion has elected two representatives of organized labor, men who are eminently qualified to speak upon this particular question and men who are in the habit of saying the things that displease as well as the things that please.

"The first speaker is the President of the Illinois Federation of Labor, a coal miner, and I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. John H. Walker."

MR. JOHN H. WALKER

"In starting out I want, as near as I can, to put my own status with reference to this matter. There are 82,000 coal miners in Illinois, all of them members of the mine workers' organization. I think we have every nationality in the make-up of our membership. So that in so far as this law and its application in preventing their countrymen from coming to our nation is concerned, there is not any one who would not be subject to greater criticism personally than a man surrounded by those influences in our organization if he was not right on that question and able to convince them to feel that way about it.

"The speaker at the present time happens to be President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. We have 600,000 or more members in the state. And in almost every other industry we have the same conglomeration of nationalities; so there is no one who can speak on this question and who more directly feels the disagreement on the part of the workers themselves than the man who holds a position in organized labor ranks.

"We believe that the literacy test is

*Condensed report of addresses and discussion at the City Club on January 23 and January 25, 1915.

not only not to the disadvantage of the foreign workers in the ultimate, but that it is really the greatest kindness that we can do them. It is only for the reason that in our country conditions for working men and their families and the opportunities for their development are better than in the countries they come from, that they come here at all. And if in the line of unrestricted immigration we were to leave in the hands of the enemies of the common working people an influence that would put us on the same level as those other countries, we would be taking from them the greatest hope for progress in the future that there is in the world today.

"The literacy test does not deny access to our shores on the part of any worker who has a really strong, sincere desire to come here and who has the mentality capable of learning to read and write. They can come here under that test. They can pass it successfully. That means that those that come here from the countries across the water will at least have been able to read and write before they left there. They will have had some knowledge of what the world's affairs are, as they apply to workingmen. And the chances are they won't come here if they are coming here as intended by those responsible; to use them as an influence to injure the workers who are here; and if they come here ignorant of the uses for which they are intended by those responsible, the fact that they can read and write enables us to reach them with the literature in their own language, giving us the double opportunity of reaching them from the fact that they are able to read and write, thereby enabling them to protect themselves, and in doing so protect us.

"Unrestricted immigration has been the most potent influence in the hands of the un-American employers, great corporations, whose sole business was to secure profits by the effect of their operations on humanity. They keep American workingmen and their families in subjection. And we are opposed to unrestricted immigration so long as aliens can be used in that direction.

"We are opposed to unrestricted immigration until the honest working men of our own nation, who are out of employ-

ment, who are seeking for work and who cannot get a job, have had an opportunity to secure that employment within the bounds of our own nation. We do not think it is right for a man to come from a foreign country and displace an American workingman who has got a job by reducing his standard of wages, conditions of employment, lowering the plane of treatment to which he has been accustomed, and lengthening his hours. The native American workingmen who are idle refuse to take that kind of a position and would rather starve and see their families starve than be a party to that thing, and by aiding in another man's displacement add another to the ranks of unemployment who seek work.

"I can understand the reasons of the average man outside of the ranks of organized labor, who probably feels that he has reasons to oppose this test. It means that no matter how good a man may have been in those other countries, if because of his agitation for better things he became an undesirable force and was hunted and proscribed and sought refuge on our shores, he could not get here. Or if patiently submitting to the conditions existing there, which were almost unbearable, a good man and woman worked on until they were able to get enough to come here, but cannot read or write, they cannot come here. Those things appeal to the average man pretty strongly. They appeal to us just as strongly as they do to you. But we have a knowledge of other things. We have a knowledge of the effect of the conditions created here that the man in the ordinary walks of life or in the ordinary business life cannot realize.

"The United States Steel Trust, according to one of our foremost citizens, an ex-President of the United States, has forty thousand men working twelve hours a day, seven days a week, year in and year out, for an average of something like one dollar and eighty cents a day, standing before a furnace in the steel works. The man is restricted as to places that he spends the money he earns by that labor; restricted to places that that concern or its local representatives desire him to spend that money. He is restricted in his political actions to the extent that that concern, at least as repre-

sented by the expression and action of the local representatives, wants him to act politically. He is restricted to the kind of education for his children that that concern cares to mete out to them. He is restricted in his right to associate with his fellows to the extent that they prescribe who he shall associate with and for what purposes. And there is no possible chance for him to free himself from those conditions, except through organization and the right to exercise what, under the laws and constitution of our country, every citizen is supposed to have.

"If the average professional or average business man were working for the steel trust twelve hours a day before that furnace, getting one dollar and eighty cents a day, working seven days a week, and in almost every phase of his life he and his family were compelled to submit to the influences or dictates of that concern, and if he knew that unrestricted immigration was the influence that that concern used to make it absolutely impossible to remove any hope of his making things better for himself and his family, I say to you that the altruistic phases of this question would not appeal so strongly to him as they do when he is not affected in that manner.

"We have organizers in the Pittsburgh district doing the best they can. They get the right to belong to the organization for those men who are working for that concern. We have our men here in Joliet. We have them in Gary. In one city in Pennsylvania there is a steady influx of a little over three thousand immigrants each month, something like ten thousand every three months, and as soon as a man develops an understanding of American standards and a desire of some rights for himself and his fellows, and makes an effort to secure them and get his fellows to associate with him and bring them about, he is let out, and one of the new men brought in takes his place.

"Go up in the copper country in Michigan. If you have read history and have a knowledge of ideal feudalism, and if you have a desire to see it in its most perfect form, if you will go there you will find it. Unrestricted immigration is the thing that has made it possible for

that combination of employers to maintain that condition.

"In Colorado in the coal mines the miners have just passed through a struggle. The main object for which they struggled was to get the right to organize, so that they could stand together in an effort to try and make conditions better for themselves and their families. Let me point, in a word, to what this condition means. In Colorado, with the natural conditions of mining coal possibly more favorable than in any other state in our Union, an average of nine out of each thousand per year of miners are killed there by accident, and a proportionate number seriously injured. In our case here in Illinois, with conditions much more unsafe, the death rate is 2.24. This shows what this thing means.

"In the American ports where the immigrants come in you find the representatives of the tobacco trust. They are seeking woman labor and child labor. If they cannot separate a man from his family and get them to go with them simply on the promise of a job for the wife, or the daughter, or the child, then they will try to secure some kind of a position for the man of the family, stripping or doing some of the rougher work. But they are seeking child labor. They are seeking woman labor to work, displacing the labor of man, and working them hours that are inhuman, for wages that are insignificant, which cannot enable them possibly to live up to American standards.

"These are the things which cause the workers to favor restriction and the literacy test. There is not any man in a professional walk of life or in the business life that has any more humane, kindly feeling for the oppressed of other nations than have the workers. They say that without any desire to detract from the truth and merit of the expressions made by men and women from those walks of life that disagree with us. But they say it none the less positively, and I honestly believe that in a real test the average worker would prove by his willingness to work and sacrifice for them that his friendship was more real than theirs. I say this to you, friends, that the right to develop normally, not only to get the things that we are entitled to get as

workers from our employers, but to develop conditions that will enable us to educate our children into the best type of man and woman possible for them to be, means the difference between a nation of developed human beings and a nation of slave-drivers and slaves. And it does not only mean that, it means that we will either settle our differences in the future as enlightened human beings by the use of reason in a systematic, orderly, peaceful way, or we shall settle our differences as all lower orders of humanity have always settled their differences, by the use of force and might.

"I say to you with the knowledge of absolute truth that if repressive measures calculated to drive the common people to the level of tools of production are continued, we will have in our nation and our history what has happened in every phase of the development of human kind, only it will be of a greater extent than it has happened in the past, and it will be done quicker. I say to the serious man and woman, the man or woman who has a love for humanity and wants to do the thing that is best, that he has a duty to perform. You will either help to solve these problems on the basis of adjustment by intelligent reasoning and in an orderly way, or you will pay the price.

"I say to you, for the good of them on the other side, who would be used to oppress us here, for the good of the American man and woman who are working, and for the good of your right-thinking human man and woman, and for the protection of them who are not right-thinking, who are not human, who are higher up and who are using this means of exploiting the people—I will say for their protection, because when the hour comes there is nothing that will save them—for everything that is good, this test should be included in our law and it should be applied in truth and spirit, just as it was intended by the workers, for the good of all the people in this nation."

THE CHAIRMAN: "The Club has also furnished for this occasion a gentleman who by environment, education and experience is well qualified to speak to you upon this vital issue, and it now affords me pleasure to introduce the Secretary of the Illinois State Federation

of Labor, an able-bodied seaman, Mr. Victor Olander."

MR. VICTOR OLANDER:

"I think it safe to say that the vast majority of the people of this country, no matter where they come from, will agree that there must be some restriction on immigration. I think we all agree, for instance, that there must be certain restrictions governing health, governing the ability of a man to perform merely physical labor and things of that description, and there are laws now that touch those questions.

"When those laws were enacted there was not quite the excitement about them that we are facing now. We are making quite a step this time, although the literacy test offered in the present immigration bill is an exceeding mild one. Yet the fight on it is perhaps more acute than that offered against other restrictions, with perhaps the single exception of the Chinese exclusion. Because now that we have brought in the educational test, it is not any longer a question of mere animal fitness. The question of mentality is brought in. It covers the human question, and we know it applies to all men, and that is the big thing that makes the human different from the animal world.

"And yet we find many among those who are opposed to bringing in that very human test. We are clinching now with ignorance; and the surprising thing to me is that so many intelligent people in this country, people whom I believe honest and sincere in their efforts, are opposed to this test. I am beginning to wonder whether their offer of help to us is real or not. I do not regard those who take that kind of a position as being at all helpful to the working people; I do not think there is any solution to our problem except that of self-help. When we help ourselves we have to help others besides ourselves.

"We live in a democracy. We do not always carry our democracy as far as we ought to, but nevertheless this is a self-governing nation, in which all men are supposed to participate in the affairs of government. Is it safe in a nation of this kind to take in every year thousands of men who are incapable of taking part

part of the government of the country? Can a democracy exist under such circumstances?

"It is not the man we would bar, in the last analysis; it is the thing; and that thing is the most dangerous enemy of democratic institutions—ignorance. And when trying to reason out this question we ought to forget the particular condition of this or that man and take into consideration the thing itself and its effect upon our people. Of course, it may be that a man in my position, having had the experience I have had in life, has some pretty strong prejudices on questions of this kind. Perhaps I ought to confess to that. I have worked in the steel mills as a laborer, and I know what it is to compete with men to whom I was utterly unable to communicate any of my own feelings or desires or hopes. I know what it is to have to work side by side under conditions which are impossible, because there is a horde of helpless immigrants brought in to keep down conditions in this country. I cannot forget that. In my own trade I have been in competition with them all my life. The particular bill that is being discussed now does not help the sailors any. But it does and will relieve the conditions, or at least will be a start towards relieving the conditions, of the rest of the workers of this country.

"Let me remind you of this: The bill is not at all drastic; it provides simply that the immigrant shall be able to read forty simple words in the language selected by him. It does not require him to write them. I wish that it did, and I wish that those forty words were doubled or trebled. It seems to me a ridiculously mild test; and I am so anxious to see it pass, not because I hope to see any great effects from it, but because it lays down a standard that I hope will be raised materially in the future.

"Now as to some of our friends among the opponents. I have represented my international union as a member of our legislative committee for some years and that work has taken me very frequently to Washington. I have taken part in a greater or lesser degree in the effort to secure the passage of a number of labor bills to Congress. When the Immigration Bill was under discussion, there appeared before the committees down

there gentlemen representing various societies and alliances composed of men of foreign nationalities, who bitterly fought against the language test. They pleaded well for their people. But here is what struck me as significant: I had never seen any of those people down there before except on one occasion. I had sat in committee rooms listening to the arguments of labor legislation of various kinds for years. I had listened to discussions of the child labor questions. I had heard the arguments on questions of education. But I had never seen these gentlemen at any one of those hearings, and surely the interest of those people they claim to represent is involved. But they never showed up until this literacy test was put into the Immigration Bill.

"Just one other thing on that question. The only other time I have seen them down there was when bills were pending to urge the steamship companies to furnish better and more sanitary quarters for the immigrants, and then these men came down there arguing in a manner satisfactory to the steamship interests. From what I know of their connections I would charge that in each instance they represented the same people, and that was not the members of their societies, but the steamship agents that we have got scattered throughout the country.

"We have had another class of opponents, people for whom I have the utmost respect and who I know have rendered very valuable service and I am sure will continue to render valuable service to the people of this country, and that is some of our social workers. How to account for their stand is beyond me. Some of them have been, to my personal knowledge, thoroughly sympathetic with the aims and hopes of the working people. I do not know of anybody who could be more so. Yet they do not agree with us on this question. And I have been trying in my own mind to get a good reason as to why they cannot agree with us, and I finally reached the conclusion that the thing that is influencing them, in view of where their work lies, is probably what the Socialists call economic determinism. If they are so anxious to have enlarged fields for their labors, I would say to them in all kindness that these is much better opportunity to carry on the work

in Europe than there is here. They of all people ought to know the effect of ignorance, particularly among people who cannot speak the language in this country.

"As to the big corporate interests, who, as my friend, Mr. Walker, said, make a practice of importing immigrants, securing immigrants at regular intervals, who run their industries in such shape that it is impossible for a man to hold a job thirty days, I do not think I need tell you very much about them. But I say is it so very drastic to say to a man coming here that, 'Before you come in and become a member of our family you have to show that you have sufficient initiative of your own, and you have sufficient natural intelligence, so that when you have reached the age of sixteen (I think that is what is set), you have managed to pick up sufficient knowledge of reading so that you can see forty simple words in print, so that you can understand them'?"

"We need that test badly, because we will be able to co-operate with the class of people we cannot reach now. So we can put down the simple words and tell that man or woman the things we are trying to do for this country. Now, it is good for this country, good for the workers, good for every citizen in it, and I believe we all ought to favor that kind of a test."

A MEMBER: "I would like to ask if any one here has any data as to the effect of a literacy test. How many immigrants would be excluded during the year by that test?"

MR. OLANDER: "I do not think any data on that subject are obtainable. It is generally accepted that the test will affect mainly the immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. I think it is certain that it won't affect many from the northern part of Europe, from any part of Germany or France or England or Scandinavia."

A MEMBER: "I would like to know what percentage of the members of labor are foreign-born, first, and, secondly, as applied to the Miners' Union of Illinois. What percentage of them could pass the literacy test now or at the time they were admitted, and third, are conditions in the countries from which they come dif-

ferent now than at the time they were admitted?"

MR. WALKER: "In reply I want to say that we have not any data compiled on those matters, and all I would be able to give you would be the expression of personal opinion. I just want to say that I do not think there is one that has been in the organization for over a year that at least could not have passed that test if he could not have passed it when he got in. I do not think that conditions are a bit better in the countries across the seas now than they were in the past, with the possible exception of where men have come to our country. Take the Chinese, for illustration. I don't know what effect the miners' union has had in changing conditions in China, but I do know that the Chinese were working, six hundred of them, in Rock Springs, Wyoming, before our organization got established, on the basis of what they call the padrone system in southern Italy. One Chinaman brought them in in a group. He contracted with a company for their labor. He paid them something like the wages they used to get in China, and he took the difference. Since our organization was established they are making the same as the other miners who are working there, and that means possibly a two or three thousand per cent increase in their wages. Now, these men have written back to China or to their own papers here and that is reproduced in China, and scattered throughout China. It has had its influence and I suppose has helped things in China."

THE CHAIRMAN: "I might say this; that I was especially told by a representative man of Italy that two years ago, when the Immigration Bill passed the Congress with the literacy test intact, that the government of Italy immediately started a schooling system whereby they could educate the people that were to come here. This bill was vetoed by President Taft, and the efforts inaugurated by the government over there to enable men to comply with the test was immediately dropped."

A MEMBER: "The reason I asked that question was because I was more familiar with the miners in Illinois than I was with any other condition of labor, because I had come in contact with several hundreds of them of the Slavonian

race. And my experience with them was this: They could only read or write, most of them, not more than their own name in any language whatsoever, and some of them—I have in mind one man who has been in this country for seven years who can write his own name in English, but he cannot tell you one letter from the other. He merely knows that that is his name. He cannot even write in Slavonian. That is the reason I asked this particular question on that point; because the effect might be this, that the men of foreign birth, who at the time could not pass the literacy test, were trying in a way to keep all people in the same situation that they were in and trying to prevent them from getting the benefits which they already have secured."

MR. WALKER: "I just want to say in reply that there is possibly an element of justice in this impression, because in the past the coal operators in the effort to reduce the wages of miners in this state have sent agents to southern Europe and brought over a lot of those people here and have used them effectively in the mines. And since those people have come here and seen how they were used the chances are they want to prevent their countrymen being brought over here and used in the same way they were brought over and used."

PROFESSOR ROBERT MILLER: "The nations that stand highest today in ability, efficiency and economic wealth are those whose average citizens are most highly educated. This is true, of course, of most European nations, and the nation that has proved itself most efficient in peace and most terrible in war is well known. You may remember that Thiers, the President of the French Republic, said after the first Franco-Prussian War in 1870 that France was defeated by the German school masters. It is true that of late years our immigration has come from southern and eastern Europe, in which the standard of literacy is low. A considerable portion has come from a part most illiterate, namely southern Italy. We have most hospitably received into America, and very rightly, the oppressed of all lands. We are ourselves either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. But we have taken the position from the beginning that that

nation was most happy and would be the most efficient which maintained a high standard of intelligence and education.

"But we are getting pretty full. We have a right now partly to close our doors, if we think it is necessary to do so in order to maintain the standards of efficiency which we have gotten up to; and this bill is in accordance with that purpose.

"I see no reason why we should receive the illiterate of other countries. America has had the most powerful influence in many ways on Europe. It has lifted the banner of freedom, of intelligence and of constitutional government, which has spread all over Europe. There are parts of Europe that are unintelligent, that do not provide for the education of their people, and we have the right, I believe, at the present time partly to close our doors, and insist that those nations shall educate their citizens before they are allowed to become a part of our national family. One point changed my observation a few days ago. I believe that at Ellis Island they have kept some account of the amount of money that the immigrants bring with them. They say that the immigrants that come from southern Europe and eastern Europe brought on an average with them per capita, including men, women and children, from two to six dollars apiece, after they got over and had bought their ticket. While from northern Europe, Germany, France, England, Scotland, Finland, the average of money that was brought over from the northern countries, after they had bought their tickets, was an average of about twenty-five to thirty-four dollars. There is a little relationship there too, I think, when you remember that the illiteracy of southern Europe runs from thirty-four to sixty-four per cent of the inhabitants. That seems to me to be a good argument for the literacy test. To bring more money to this side shows that they are able to earn more money in their countries. It seems that for the safety of this country we should put up a bar to immigrants. It will hurt some, it is true, but the greatest good to the greatest number is the thing."

PROFESSOR F. S. DEIBLER: "I am in sympathy with the objects that organized labor is endeavoring to accomplish. I would like to get a little further

information. It has been stated that the literacy test was prompted largely as a means of testing the mentality of those coming here. I would like to raise the question whether the ability to read 40 words is after all a test of mental capacity. Is it not rather the indication of a certain accomplishment by those who are competent? There is another phase to this question which I would like to introduce. Would a test of this kind, being a means of some sort of selection, bring us the most desirable elements from Europe? I understand that where educational advantages have been given in Europe, they have been more particularly to the city populations. I raise this not because I am advocating anything, but because it is being argued; do the speakers feel that the selection from a city population would be more desirable than from a rural population?

"There is another point I want to mention; whether organized labor has advocated a more rigorous test than the one which is now in the bill."

MR. WALKER: "In reply to Prof. Deibler's first question I can say truthfully that the test in our judgment will mean both of the things that he made the distinction between. The fact that they have learned to read forty words in their own language may mean an accomplishment. At the same time it will also be an indication that they have mental capacity above the ordinary. So far as the difference between rural and urban immigrants is concerned, I do not think there has been any inclination to differentiate between them in our making an effort to include that test, and—I am speaking personally now—I do not think it makes much difference, and I think they did include writing in addition to being able to read in the first test.

"The whole purpose, as I understand it, on our part in restricting immigration is to restrict to that number that we are able to assimilate without injury to ourselves. I feel that even in the most rigorous test requiring the writing of forty words we have been more than liberal. It is estimated that we have one hundred and twenty-five thousand men out of

work seeking employment and willing to work in Chicago now. And what is true of Chicago is true of almost every other industrial center in our entire nation. I feel personally that it is a rank injustice to allow any immigration from any country under any circumstances until they get the opportunity to get employment for themselves to support their families. I believe that in order to weigh up the other fellow's position you should put yourself in his position. Put yourself in the position of one of these one hundred and twenty-five thousand out of work and vainly looking for a job and having a family depending on him. Then I believe you would agree with us that you do not think it is altogether fair to bring in more from other countries who will also be out of a job. That is the position of organized labor."

THE CHAIRMAN: "There are three other fundamental demands made by organized labor. They are, first, that the immigrant shall not be dumped hopelessly and at the mercy of the big interests when he arrives here; that there shall be some plan devised by which he shall be placed in a job or aid in forming some industrial community. The second is that the amount per capita for each immigrant shall be increased from four dollars to twenty-five dollars; the third is that the steamship companies who surreptitiously sneak in or smuggle in or bring in any one contrary to the immigration law of the land shall be heavily fined and imprisoned."

PROF. DEIBLER: "Restriction is one of the larger purposes of the bill. As to the effect of the literacy test, I wonder if this will be as effective as applying a more rigorous test proposed in one immigration bill, namely, limiting absolutely the number to a certain percentage of the nationality, based on our experience of the last twenty-five years. Has organized labor included that also in that?"

THE CHAIRMAN: "Yes, we have been advocating that and would be glad to have you or somebody else put it in the bill. It is not in the law now. We advocated that twelve years ago."

SECOND MEETING, JANUARY 25th

THE CHAIRMAN (Reverend Jenkin Lloyd Jones): "The question of immigration is a many-sided one, about which men may naturally differ. Some of us believe that hospitality, economy and thrift run together in the economy as well as the philosophy of the United States. But be that as it may, the effort to limit immigration by a literacy test seems to us to be based on superficial pedagogy.

"The traditions of the United States teach that of the class that might be rejected by this test have come, some of them, most efficient makers of the nation. It is said that the first document to secure absolute religious liberty to the citizens was that granted the colony of Providence, Rhode Island, established by Roger Williams. That document was signed by thirteen applicants; five of them had to sign their name with a mark. They would have been excluded by this test.

"Popular tradition has it that once upon a time these United States elevated to the highest office at its command, to the presidential chair, a man who did not know how to write until his wife taught him. On the other hand, evidence is abundant that the undesirable citizen is able to both read and write. A few years ago it was my privilege to address a prison community at Atlanta, Georgia, where some nine hundred or more men were incarcerated for violating federal law. Just before going on to the platform, the warden, speaking out of a doubtless many-sided experience, said: 'I beg of you, Mr. Jones, not to underestimate the intelligence of your audience this morning. You will do well to remember that you are to speak to sixty college graduates and there will be many in your audience that will be conversant with four or more languages. The best you have got in your shop is none too good for my men.' And I found it so.

"Perhaps I am asked to this post of honor today because I am a little spoonful of that scum that comes from Europe to hamper the progress of the United States. I am in the habit of saying that I came to this country when I was a year old and brought my parents along with me. The old log house in the clearing

in Wisconsin was the rallying point of tides of immigrants. Many of them, as I can clearly remember, would not be accessible under this law. I have lived long enough to see the children of those illiterate parents win honors in college halls and go out into life to fill positions of honor and responsibility. And so it is with great pleasure that I accept the honor of introducing the speaker, the Hon. Charles Nagel, who is under suspicion himself."

HONORABLE CHARLES NAGEL

"The question will always be interesting, and, in my judgment, it will never be settled by any one measure. You all know that a few years ago we had practically no restrictions. Then we began to realize that this country could not be regarded merely as a dumping ground. There was reason to believe that in some countries the doubtful policy was encouraged of sending the undesirable citizens to this country. And the idea was accepted that our country must protect itself against an invasion of undesirable people under the flag of liberty. The policy was adopted. Now, what kind of citizen or what kind of immigration did we aim at? We had in mind admitted criminals, confessed enemies of lawful government, people so decrepit that they were liable to fall a burden upon our country and people incompetent or defective, with contagious diseases.

"With a system so formulated I had some acquaintance. I confess I went to Washington profoundly impressed with the need for scrutiny of the people who were permitted to arrive and stay in this country.

"The law was by no means perfect. I was impressed with the cumbersome character of that law, with the great variety of the number of infinite details, with the absence of anything like administrative discretion, with the inadequate force, with the absence of really expert men and men of high discretion; and I felt that in many respects this law brought about unnecessary hardships, unhappy friction and really not the result which it proposed to achieve.

"After considerable reflection, recommendations were made to strengthen the

law in some respects. The general intention of the department at that time was to fortify the really protective provisions. We wanted more competent inspectors to ascertain the character of the people who were coming. We wanted a larger and more competent force of physicians, in order that questions of sanity, responsibility, and so forth, could be more reliably determined. We wanted more power over the steamship companies, to know in what respect they invited immigration and how they treated it on board. We endeavored in every way to fortify the law, so as to be in a better position to carry out its real purpose. And there was attached to it a recommendation which the department did not make, and which so far as I know was not recommended by any commissioner at any port of the United States, and at such ports as Galveston and New York there were stationed commissioners who were restrictionists, who believed in enforcing the law with great severity, and who condemned the literacy test as entirely impossible of execution and calculated to do infinite mischief. In other words, so far as that provision was concerned, it was added to the bill, and not upon the recommendations of executives who had charge of the measure and who were confronted with the difficulties.

"Now, let us see what we have to consider, what that measure really means. Originally that measure was recommended upon the ground that the educational or literacy test presented a real test. In other words that measure was urged upon its merits. I remember well with how much warmth and sincerity they argued that we could not deny such a test, inasmuch as we staked the welfare and stability of our country upon the school system. I answered that that was a superficial argument. I said, 'It is not a real test. I would rather have a man who can look me straight in the eyes and grasp my hand with a strong, firm grip than one whose qualification was to pass the test. I believe that if a foreigner is right-minded and comes into our country and cannot read or write, but is willing to work, that he will be amalgamated into our institutions easily, because he can be taken up by colonization societies of this country just as well

without the ability to write or read as with it.'

"That was the argument, but it is no longer the argument. There is not a real supporter behind the literacy test in that bill who will tell you privately that he believes that that is a genuine test. In fact, in the arguments before President Taft, that position was abandoned, and they said just what they always meant, that they were aiming at countries whom they did not dare to name. That is all there is to that. They said literacy was greater in some countries than in others, and if we put the literacy test in this bill we would exclude the people of certain countries. It is a cruel test, as I shall endeavor to point out.

"There is a good deal more in the immigration service than the buying and selling of goods and the recording of fees. There is a good deal more in it than the people who believe that that class of government can be defined by a chalk line think. There are other reasons against that provision. It says that every one over sixteen years of age shall submit to the literacy test. Now, look at the practical workings of it. It is practically admitted that people under sixteen go with their parents, in or out. What is the result if the father can read a dialect or Yiddish, but his children cannot read? He upon his qualifications can bring in every one of the children. Whereas, if he was denied the privileges of learning to read or write in his youth, but has provided for his children the privileges that were denied him, he is denied access because he cannot read, and all the children go out with him. In other words, the law provides precisely the opposite effect than it intends.

"What are the general principles involved? On the one hand it is urged that immigration ought to be restricted because too easy immigration is calculated to introduce cheap labor. I can see the force of that. I do not think that we made any serious attempt to bring the wants in our country and the supplies into close relation. There is no one who can say that we have all the labor we need. All we can say is that we have not enough labor in some sections and too much in others. We have

not farmers enough. And that is the most dignified labor there is.

"We have too many people in the cities. But has the government made any intelligent effort to bring those forces together? I think we have appropriations, oh, as high as ten or fifteen thousand dollars a year to promote that kind of a situation. Think of it! And we have finally, I believe, started a station here in Chicago, which was the first departure; and with respect to which I think Miss Grace Abbott made more of an impression upon my mind than all the arguments that have been presented to me, by convincing me that when the national government took the responsibility of deciding who should come in, that that responsibility did not cease at the coast line, but that every intelligent method ought to be pursued until the immigrant was landed practically where he wanted to go; in other words, the work ought to be distributed.

"On the other hand, there are those in large cities who selfishly want easy immigration because it does produce cheap labor. That argument is not made above-board, but it is being entertained. With that, of course, I have no sympathy.

"There are other influences. There is no question that the steamship companies were interested and will be interested again in large steerage passages. By the rules of selfishness that creep in everywhere they were not as circumspect as they might have been in the manner in which that steerage was obtained.

"Consider all of these elements, the labor unions, with the interests they represent, the proprietors who represent another interest, the steamship companies with their interests; the great harbor cities—I do not know what side they are on—but there is one element which we are apt to forget, and which is controlling. That is the human element. You cannot decide these cases by walking the chalk-lines. You have to impress that upon the administration of that law and upon every individual case. And if you make a law that takes it out of the hands of the Secretary and his subordinates you impose a penalty and a cruelty, for which our country will pay more than any other. You may think that an exaggerated statement, but I will develop it before I get through.

"There is a modern idea abroad that law enforcement means the literal enforcement of every provision of every statute. We have a way of talking about that glibly, and we think that we have uttered words of great wisdom when we say that that is our platform. Whenever I hear a man solemnly announce that, I always say to myself obviously he wants an office and has never had one, because if he had ever been in a responsible position he would say that that is the greatest nonsense in the world. We have a great many laws in this country, but there is no executive in any state or no executive in the White House who can enforce all the laws all the time. Why, we would all be in court all the time if that were tried out. And that is one of the chief objections against these laws. If we did not have so many laws the executives would not be in the position of deciding which ones they will have to push. You are bringing about exactly the opposite effect you want. I say every letter of the law must yield to its spirit. The rule of reason is right.

"Now, what have we here to deal with? Not questions connected with money. But human questions. Why? Do we owe anything to the people on the other side? Strictly speaking, no. But we owe a lot to the people on this side to whom they belong, and we cannot afford to go along on this easy self-sufficient idea that we stand aloof here from the world, an immune country, to do as we please with every individual who comes, because we have got people here in every state in the Union who have themselves to be satisfied. It is a mistake for a man to assume that this is a country of his origin. This country more than any other is composed of peoples, of races of all the world. How and to what extent shall we be able to assimilate all these people and make it one component body, who will render allegiance and support to the institutions for which we stand. This is a country of English institutions; this is a country in which the English language is the understandable language; but this is a country of not more than 50 per cent of people who are English, Scotch and Irish origin. You count the Germans, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Italians, the French, the Poles, the Russians and the Finns,

and see how this country is composed. Do you think we can afford to inaugurate any system that will give just offense to those people who have been invited here, and that will set the faces of the people whom we have adopted and raised to citizenship against the government that they have sworn to support. Do you think I am speaking extravagantly? I know people who do not like the discussion of general principles; although the abstract is much more safe than the concrete. But I will give you some instances that opened my eyes.

"The case about which I had the greatest difficulty was the position of the infant child, the minor child, abroad, whose parents lived in this country and had been accepted as citizens here. When I came to Washington I found that the law had been interpreted to mean that if the father and mother came to this country and lived here the proper time they were accepted as citizens and naturalized, but they still could not bring in a child which had been left on the other side unless that child could pass the examination on its own account. The law was somewhat vague. It said something about the child making its residence, that the child should be considered the citizen of its father's country, provided it made its residence with the father; and the authorities said that it could not make its residence here unless it is admitted, and if it could not pass muster on its own account it could not be admitted. Now that is the literal interpretation. I confess I had more doubt about that decision, as a lawyer, than any decision I ever made. But I made a decision. I worked at it for two months. I examined all the authorities, I saw that most of the courts tended against me. I went into the State Department and saw what their policy had been, and I found that the State Department had repeatedly been instrumental in bringing in whole families without any examination, where the father lived in this country. In other words, I found our policy had always been to do what Chief Justice Marshall said, that when a man is naturalized he is as much a citizen of the United States as though he had been born in this country. That was his statement; if he is as much a citizen as though he was born in this country, how can you deny him

the right to take care of his own minor children?

"Sometimes we are moved by real facts, when the theory is not so clear. I remember one letter written to me by a man in the West, who said, 'I have lived in this country now for ten years. I am a citizen of the United States. I have my own business. I have my wife and my children here with me, all but one. That one child is in Russia. I send in so much money every month to protect her. I do not know whether she is protected or not. She may be walking the streets for all her mother and I know. My wife walks the floor every night. Mr. Secretary, if you have a family, can you do anything for me?'

"Are you going to argue it? Are you going to say that it is right to deny that man the right to bring in that child and take care of it? And it is not only the child. The child might die, and the better off for it. But he is trying to save the mother and the other children.

"I can give you many cases of this kind. I received a letter from an inspector in Nebraska, making the charge that a man living in the country two years and eleven months, within one month from the time he was immune from attack, that this man had been in the penitentiary in Italy as a felon, and that under the law he was bound to go back, because the law says that people who have been convicted of felony in a foreign country must be deported. It looked like a clear case. But there came a letter from people in the city in which this man lived. It said, 'He has lived here two years and eleven months. He is a bricklayer. He has never lost a day. He owns his own house and is paying it off. He is paying taxes. He has never had a mark against him in our place. He has a wife and six children, all of them going to school. The sentence was imposed upon him in Italy twenty-five years ago.'

'That made me full of interest, so I said to the inspector, 'Where did you get this information, and how?' 'Oh, the usual anonymous letter. Somebody pursuing a man who is trying to make good.' I said, 'Well, I will tell you. I can buy almost anything in the service except good sense. That is the hardest thing in the world to get. If you had any

discretion you would never have seen that man. But you write it all up and put it on my table and ask me to break the law, as you think. So we will see.'

"I wrote the man and asked him, 'Is it true that you were sentenced in Italy?' And he wrote back, 'Yes;' he had been in the penitentiary for six months. It struck me as a peculiar thing, because the offense was a very severe one. Six months looked very peculiar under the circumstances. Under normal conditions it would have been twenty to twenty-five years. So I wrote him and inquired of him whether he had been guilty, and he came back and said, 'No, I am not guilty, but I was sentenced and I served.' I pursued it, and I said, 'Can you prove your innocence?' He said, 'Yes, I can prove it, because the people who had me convicted, who were witnesses against me, are now my best friends. They know they did me a great wrong and they afterwards caught the offender and he is still doing his time on the other side,' and it was an offense that could not very well have been committed by two people. Then I became interested and asked him all the details, and then I said that I would not sign that warrant, no matter what the law said; if it compels me to sign that warrant I would resign, and I went over to see the President of the United States, and I said, 'Mr. President, this is the case. Of course I could dismiss it as a stale case. The law does not deal with stale cases. But I do not think the law requires it of me literally when this man is not the real offender.' And President Taft said, 'You are absolutely right. Don't you sign a warrant like that. It is not the way to enforce the law.'

"Of course, you may say there is great danger of having an executive abuse his powers, and of course there is. You cannot have authority anywhere without running the risk of having it abused. But the more you tie the hands of an executive and try to make a machine out of him and tell him what he must do, the more you bring about the result you least intend.

"Let me tell you of some other cases, so as to show you the difficulties under which a man labors. I came to Ellis Island one day and the commissioner told me he had a very difficult case. I

said, 'What is it?' He said, 'Here is a Swedish woman; she came with two children. Her two children were taken away from her by the authorities and quarantined, because they had measles, and she was brought as an immigrant to Ellis Island. The first thing we heard was the report of the quarantine, that both children had been buried, and that is all that she knows, and there is now the question as to what we ought to do with her, because she appears to be demented.' I said, 'I want to see her.' So she came in. I have never seen a statue in marble more set than that figure; as white as a sheet, just looked at us and never said a word. Just seemed to wonder what fate could have in store for her now. Her husband lived in Chicago, but she, of course, under the literal interpretation of the law, had to be held to determine whether or not her mind had been unsettled by the fate that she had suffered on our shores. I said, 'Mr. Commissioner, I will make the decision. That woman will be admitted at once. Her husband will be notified to meet her, and I will find the authority for it afterwards.'

"Take other cases. I remember an old man, not so very old either, who came into my office one day from Columbus, Ohio, a pitiable sight. He said he had been in this country so many years; had his first papers; had sent for his wife and three children; and two of the children were held at Baltimore because they had a contagious scalp trouble and the doctors had recommended their deportation. The doctor's recommendation was conclusive upon me. I could not override it. I said to him, 'I do not know what I can do.' He had splendid letters from Columbus. I said, 'I won't do anything without giving you a fair chance.' I said to my wife, 'Now, you have seen me fret over these cases. Suppose you come with me and see how it looks. You have seen the records that I have gone through; I would like you to see the real article.' She came with me, and we went there unexpectedly. There was the man outside of the gate looking through the bars to see his wife and children whom he had not seen for several years. And he saw his wife and children, two of them with the scalp trouble, and of course they all knew

that this was the day of decision. I looked at them, three as fine looking children as you ever saw; the two affected ones, a boy and a girl. I called the doctor over and said to him, 'Are you sure this is contagious?' He said, 'No doubt.' I said, 'Is it curable?' 'Very doubtful, but it might be.' 'Are you willing to give me a certificate that it might be curable?' He said, 'Certainly.' 'Is there any hospital in Baltimore that will treat contagious diseases of this kind under proper protection to others?' He said, 'Certainly.' I said, 'Very well; that will be done. We will pass the father his wife and his sound child, and we will put the other children in this asylum on conditional landing. The father has made friends enough in Columbus to furnish money for treatment. Anybody will give him a bond. We will report their progress. Of course, if they are permanently afflicted with this disease they should be sent back.'

'In four weeks the doctor reported to me that they were doing beautifully. In another week he reported that the children could be sent to Columbus, if there was any hospital there to receive them for further treatment. Well, there was no other hospital for that particular disease, but the authorities said they would set up a room in the old farm house conducted by the county, and the doctors said it would be better for them because it would allow them to get out in the air and into the open. They went there and we had a specialist go out and treat these children. Everybody was interested in it.

"In three or four months I received a final certificate that they had been permanently cured; the doctors of the department were satisfied and they were formally admitted. But that was not all. About seven months afterwards I received a letter. I do not think it was more than that; it might have been eleven months. But I received a letter from Columbus. I opened it and found a photograph of two children, a girl and a boy, and a letter written in English by the girl, in which she said that she would never forget the day that I came to Baltimore, that they knew I had decided their case, and but for the fact I had come there they would not have been admitted, and she said that she and her

brother were both well and going to common school, that she was proud to read and write the English language, and that the family prayed for me every night. I took that letter home to my wife and showed it to her and said, 'Those are the children you saw. Don't you think they are better looking than our own?' And they were, too.

"I will give you one more illustration. In this same place, Baltimore, I found an old German and his wife. They were over seventy; just as hardy as hickory nuts, and with them their youngest boy. I think they had eleven children, sons and daughters, living in this country; all of them living in North or South Dakota; all of them married; all of them with families; owning farms; all of them citizens, and all of them prosperous. There was not anybody who represented anything in the Dakotas who did not telegraph me about those people. They had had the dream that some day before the old parents died that they would have the sweet privilege of bringing their parents over to this country, having them with them in the land of freedom. But they knew there was difficulty about the youngest brother, who was not up to the standards, and they hesitated until they knew that the old people would die unless they at least tried. That the old people passed, there was no question, but the younger son did not. They told me that he was demented.

"It looked like a very hard case. I thought I would try and get their confidence. They were, of course, uneasy, as foreigners usually are when they hear that a member of the cabinet has come to their place. I went over and addressed them in German; they looked surprised. I engaged them in conversation, not about their case at all, but about their country. And I spoke to them some little time, and this son became very much interested and I had a chance to watch him, and as he heard me speak German he gained confidence, and he undertook to break into the conversation. I watched him and found that he was as neat as a boy could be; his hands were well kept; his clothes were neat, and his appearance as correct as could be. That is not a characteristic of demented people. I was struck

by that. I asked him off-handed a few questions in German and he made pretty good drives at them. This interested me. I asked him what was the cause of his condition. He said when he was a child there was a fire in the house and he had been thrown out of a window to save him and had never been entirely right. I asked him what he did. He said he milked the cows and worked around the place and chopped wood and helped wherever he could; and they all confirmed that, that he kept busy and helped to fill his place. Then a woman, the superintendent of the place, came to me and said, 'Mr. Secretary, I want to call your attention to something. That boy has been here now over a week. I have watched him; he is a splendid mechanic.' 'How did you find that out?' 'The carpenters were working and he saw the tools and asked the privilege to help them and he has been working with them right along, and knows all about the work and the tools and knows how to use a saw and chisel, and so forth.' 'I said that I did not think that a demented person could be a good mechanic. He may not be able to talk, but he must think straight or he could not be a good mechanic.'

"We waited a while and I asked the

doctor if he could issue a certificate. I said, 'I know all about it. If you give me a certificate that he is an idiot that ends it, but if you give me a certificate, leaving it to my discretion, I will tell you what I will do.' Two days afterwards I got a letter from the doctor, stating he did not believe literally what he said at first, but there was a distinction; and that young man was admitted.

"That was a doubtful case and could be justified only upon the theory that the people on this side had all the rights. If you have not the officers who will take responsibility, you will save perhaps a little on the commercial side, but lose it on the ideal side; and if you lose your ideals you will not have a country worth saving. That is the reason why we should go slow on this thing. It is said that if a criminal comes to this country and three years afterward committed a crime, he should not be sent back. I have no patience with the wrong-doer who comes here in the name of sympathy. But I have a great deal of sympathy with the people who have a right to come here and to live in freedom, and there must be no governmental rule of law to step in between them and their future."

THE ESSENTIALS OF A GOOD CONSTITUTION*

"Ohio's constitution is one of the fruits of the life work of the greatest man that Ohio has produced, certainly in our day, Tom Johnson.

"We had been fortunate in Ohio in that the first constitution had been drafted by friends of Thomas Jefferson. It was the doctrine of Jefferson that each generation should make its own government, that each generation of men should control or have the power to make or unmake the laws under which they lived. In order to give practical effect to this doctrine the first constitutional convention incorporated this provision—that once every twenty years there should be submitted to the people this question: 'Do you want a new constitution?'

"The question was thus submitted in 1910. At this time the people voted in

the affirmative. In the following year the Legislature provided for the election of the delegates.

"The law determined that the delegates should be elected upon a non-partisan ballot. That was a very fortunate circumstance, as events proved. The constitution had fixed certain matters, as, for instance, the basis of representation. But we owe it to this Legislature that the election for delegates was on a non-partisan ballot. Anybody could be named who could get 1 per cent of the voters of his county to sign the nominating petition. The names were placed in alphabetical order and in rotation on the ballot. Organizations called 'Progressive Constitution Leagues' were organized in some of the cities.

*Condensed report of an address delivered before the City Club by the Hon. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati.

"We could not attempt to consider all of the issues involved in the making of a constitution, so we did this: We took the initiative and referendum as the acid test. We said, 'If a man is right on that one issue we will trust him on the rest.' We endeavored to elect delegates pledged to a fair and workable form of initiative and referendum. In this we succeeded.

"The convention was called together in January, 1912. When we went there we had no other thought than that we would do as the other conventions in Ohio had done—attempt to make a completely new constitution. Very early in our proceedings, however, it became evident that there would be great danger in this course, as at this time there were many questions mooted, upon which there was a sharp vision of public opinion. We believed that whether we put these measures in or left them out they would result in our undoing. So we agreed that it would not be safe to frame an entirely new constitution. It did not seem wise, for other reasons. Most of the constitution was good; moreover, our constitution had existed in the state for sixty years and it had been subject all those years to judicial construction, and it seemed inadvisable to upset all that. So we decided to submit our work in the form of separate amendments.

"Some of us in the beginning were very hopeful that we might limit these amendments to essentials. I hoped that we would not have more than four or five amendments to submit. But it was impossible to so limit the number. The numbers grew until finally we had forty-two on our hands.

"We prepared a ballot, giving each of these amendments a ballot title, endeavoring to frame a title that would suggest to the voter the real substance of the amendment. Each of these amendments had a ballot number. The amendment permitting three-fourths of a jury to render verdicts in civil cases was number one. The amendment favoring the abolition of capital punishment was number two. The initiative and referendum was number six, and woman suffrage was number twenty-three.

"Of these forty-two amendments, thirty-two carried. If I could have expressed my preference for these amend-

ments in the order of my choice I would have taken the initiative and referendum for first. That did carry by a majority of something like eighty-one thousand in the state. My second choice would have been woman suffrage, but that was defeated. My third choice would have been the abolition of capital punishment, but the people of Ohio did not believe that it was time to stop killing men.

"However, most of the important amendments were adopted. At least the changes that the convention regarded as its important construction work were all ratified by generous majorities.

"I will try to review these changes. A large part of the hard work of the convention was devoted to an attempt to reorganize judicial procedure, so as to shorten and cheapen litigation in the state. We tried to apply the principle that for all ordinary lawsuits there should be but one trial and one review, and that that should end it. Anybody, in any kind of a case originating, perhaps, in a Justice of the Peace Court, could be dragged up through all the courts. Now ordinary cases cannot go to the Supreme Court. Thus court is relieved of much work and has time to give attention to matters involving the constitutionality of laws or of large public interest.

"The convention recognized the agitation in favor of the recall as having some just foundation. We had had a good deal of experience with what Thomas Jefferson used to call the 'twistifications' of the courts. It was felt that acts of the Legislature had been declared unconstitutional lightly and for trifling reasons. Just as our convention assembled we were treated to a case of the kind. The previous Legislature had passed a vital statistics law. Surely it seemed to be proper legislation; for if the Legislature was expected to legislate on the subject of public health, what could be more appropriate than to take the necessary means to get the information upon which intelligent legislation on the subject could be based? So a law was passed requiring doctors to render reports to the Health Department. A doctor in Hardin County refused to do this. The prosecutor began suit. The doctor set up the claim that he did

not have to file a report, and he depended not on the federal constitution nor on the constitution of the state; he went back of these documents to the ordinance of 1787 and found that Thomas Jefferson, in his desire to see that no slave state should be carved out of the Northwest Territory, had put in a provision against involuntary servitude. The doctor contended that this vital statistics law subjected him to involuntary servitude. The Supreme Court of Ohio said he was right, and set the case aside.

"Moreover, this seemed very menacing, just as we were assembling, for the Supreme Court, in an obiter dictum, went out of its way to say that the ordinance of 1787 might be considered a bar against the initiative and referendum. In that case we would have been governed by a document over which we had no control. In view of such decision, we felt that we needed some remedy.

"Now, in Illinois, if four men say an act is unconstitutional and three say it is constitutional, the majority of the court throws the law out. That cannot be done in Ohio now. In our court it takes all but one to declare a law unconstitutional. We think it is quite in harmony with the right theory that the law should stand as long as there is a reasonable doubt, and if there are three judges or two in the court of seven who say the law is constitutional, their opinion on the subject constitutes a reasonable doubt, and the law should stand. A good deal of our trouble over the constitutionality of acts, however, had arisen from the fact that much of our legislation had dealt with problems not anticipated sixty years ago, and in declaring such legislation unconstitutional the courts were following the letter of the old constitution. I refer to the laws which attempted to deal with problems of wages, hours, and conditions of labor. So in our constitution we removed all obstructions to such legislation. We tried to give the Legislature complete power to do as the people of the future might deem wise as to this whole subject of hours, conditions and wages of labor. We went so far as to put in a provision allowing a minimum wage to be fixed by law in the state.

"I am very much opposed to any legislation of that character. I think that if we are wise we shall never have occasion to use these powers. Yet these labor amendments received the largest vote of any submitted, and it speaks well, at least, for the humanity of the people of Ohio, that they should have approved so heartily of these changes. Our action was justified, for even though we may not deem it wise to use the power, surely there can be no objection to the action of the convention in granting the power, so that the people of each generation may find themselves unrestricted in their right to meet their problems in their own way.

"The next item of importance was the municipal home rule amendment. That was one of the great issues Tom Johnson had raised in Ohio. We had been going on in Ohio doing a most foolish thing, as many states have been doing. Freedom of experimentation and change of ideas is necessary to progress in any line. Yet we have ignored this principle in the management of our cities. We have undertaken to determine by law just what kind of city government we should have. Moreover we have imposed the same form upon all cities alike, great or small. There could be no progress because there was no freedom.

"Under the new constitution we put an end to all that, and so far as the form of government is concerned every city in Ohio is an independent republic within the commonwealth, absolutely free to have any kind of city government it desires. We merely provide the machinery by which cities may acquire charters.

"The constitution provides that the City Council may submit the question: 'Do you want a new city charter?' Or 10 per cent of the voters may petition 'Shall there be a new charter?' And only those votes are counted which are cast directly upon the question.

"At the same time we vote on the question of having a new charter we also ballot on the names of charter commissioners—fifteen are to be elected—and if the question of having a new charter is carried in the affirmative, then the successful candidates become the charter commissioners. They must report a new charter within a year from the time of their election. There is no

restriction upon the kind of charter they may adopt. And they do not have to go back to the Legislature and get its O. K. When their charter is completed it goes to the people, and, if adopted, it is the charter of the city until the citizens wish to change it. Under our home rule provision, when once a charter is adopted by a city, the Legislature absolutely loses its power over that city as far as its form of government is concerned. We have provided in the constitution, however, means for adopting amendments. Amendments may be submitted by the City Council or by a petition of 10 per cent of the electors. So the door is open, and the people may modify their charter according to their growing experience with it.

"Possibly it will interest you to know that in the larger cities they have adopted the federal plan of city government, concentrating the power in the hands of a mayor and a small City Council, thereby throwing upon the voters the necessity of choosing only a very few men. This, too, is interesting, that whether a federal form of government had been adopted or a commission form, as in some cities, or a city manager plan, as in the case of Dayton, that in every one of these home rule charters the people of the cities of Ohio did what the Legislature never would permit them to do; they absolutely divorced national from municipal politics, thereby making an end to voting for Roosters and Eagles at municipal elections.

"We believed that home rule for cities without the unquestioned power of the city to deal as it pleased with its public utility problems would be a good deal like Hamlet with Hamlet left out. And lest any court should so construe the language of our home rule section as to cast any doubt upon that power, we made a special section in which we specified that the cities were to have the power to real as they pleased with public utility problems, and we provided that they should have the power to condemn properties, to condemn franchises, to go into court and determine what the property is worth, and to issue bonds on the city, or mortgage bonds, secured by a security franchise; acquire the property, and then having acquired

it, lease it to somebody or operate it themselves as they see fit.

"There was a protest in the convention over the question of permitting the cities home rule in matters of taxation. This freedom was denied the cities. Passing over to the next one of the two remaining questions, no set of men could possibly be wise enough to make a good constitution. Good constitutions must grow. I do not care how good a constitution you have, if you have a bad amending clause, it is a bad constitution.

"There were some of us in the convention who felt that this was the heart of the whole matter of constitution making, and determined to make a constitution which the people could change, which could grow and expand and be modified according to the changing needs and increasing experience of our people.

"Our old method of amendment was that the amendment had to be passed by a three-fifths majority vote of both branches of the Legislature and then submitted to the voters at a *regular election*, and even if you got an overwhelming majority the amendment could not be considered passed unless it was a majority of all the votes cast for Roosters and Eagles at that election. That experience of sixty years had been that that was practically unworkable, for the simple reason that there are some people whose intelligence never rises above the level of voting for Roosters and Eagles, and they will be persuaded by the politicians to vote for this or that candidate and they swell the numbers of votes which must be overcome.

"I do not believe there will be another constitutional convention in the state of Ohio. Not that we did our work so well, but we gave the people a chance to change the constitution. When an amendment is submitted, it must be placed upon a separate ballot and the majority of the votes cast directly on the measure determine its fate. We have decided that if a man is not interested enough to cast his vote one way or the other on a measure, he should not be counted either way. If he is not interested enough to vote on the question, we permit him to disenfranchise himself on that question. Again, we may place a constitutional amendment on the ballot by a petition of 10 per cent of the

electors upon a separate ballot, and only the votes cast directly upon it are counted. This is under the initiative and referendum section of the constitution. We do not have a direct initiative in law making. We have the indirect form. It seemed to us advisable that before measures are submitted to the vote of the people they should be debated, or that an official deliberative assembly, such as a state Legislature, should have a chance to discuss the measure and to suggest changes. We draft the bill we want. Then we get 3 per cent of the electors of the state to sign the petition. Then we must take the bill to the Secretary of State at least ten days before the convening of the state Legislature. On the organization of the Legislature the petition is transmitted to both houses, and the legislators may do with it just as they do with any other bill; they may do what they please. They may do nothing. If they pass it in its original form, that is the end of it, unless some one wants to get out a referendum petition against it. They can pass it with amendments. They may ignore it, or they may put jokers into it, or mutilate it and practically destroy it by amendments, and then pass it. Then the petitioners—after they have waited to see what the Legislature does—are free, if they are not satisfied with what the Legislature has done, to get up a supplementary petition, of 3 per cent of additional signers, and by that petition they can force a vote on the bill in the form in which it was submitted first, or with any amendment included which may have been offered in the Legislature.

“Under the referendum, a bill remains in abeyance for ninety days after it is passed, and at the end of that time it goes into effect, unless, before that time, a petition signed by at least 6 per cent of the electors is filed demanding a vote upon it. Then this measure against which the petition is filed is held in abeyance until the next fall election, when it goes on the ballot, and the majority of those voting thereon determine its fate.

“Constitutional amendments may be submitted to the voters of the state by a

petition signed by 10 per cent of the electors. I never looked upon the initiative and referendum as a panacea for anything. The only question was, ‘Would this new device of government contribute to the intelligent interest of citizens. Would it re-act more favorably upon the intelligence of the citizens than the old system had done, under which the people were shut out from any direct influence on their affairs?’

“In Ohio a vote had been nothing but an act of resignation. Under the theory of the old constitution the law-making power resided in the citizens. But when he went to the polls and voted for John Smith, he really resigned his power. He passed it over to John Smith. Now we have a system where we vote for John Smith and give him the power just as before. But to this power we have a string tied. Under our constitution there is a reservation of power. The citizen is the law-maker, the power resides in him. He may entrust that power to a man to go to the state Legislature and make laws, but if he thinks that he has not been properly represented he has still the reserve power to step in and act directly for himself. We believe that with this direct control, with this direct influence on public affairs, and that after people had lived for a generation under this system, they will be better and more intelligent citizens than they could possibly be under a system which restricts their power to selecting men to make laws for them.

“We believe that under the institutions we have provided in Ohio, political life is going to be more educational than it has even been in the past. Institutions cannot save men. They must save themselves. But institutions have a great influence upon the character of citizens. They may repress intelligent interest in public affairs, or they may stimulate and encourage such interest. And I believe this is our great good fortune in Ohio, that we have these provisions of home rule and direct legislation, under which now, when the people engage in their political activities, they will be going to school and will be growing into better citizens every day of their lives.”

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS*

DEAN JAMES PARKER HALL

"In March, 1913, Professor W. F. Dodd of the University of Illinois wrote an article in the Illinois Law Review suggesting a number of changes needed in the Illinois constitution, and at the end of his article he intimated that too commonly the delegates to such conventions met without much special preparation for dealing with the problems before them, and consequently their work suffered. He suggested, therefore, that the Legislature of Illinois be urged to appoint a commission to gather material on needed constitutional changes, so as to have it in readiness whenever a convention should come out from under the legislative hat.

"Professor Wigmore of Northwestern University then wrote a letter to Mr. Dodd, commending highly the plan of having some preparation made, but doubting that the Legislature could be induced to make such provision and suggesting instead that an informal committee be formed to gather material upon various topics, so that if we had a convention we would have in readiness information about the matters most likely to be considered by it, or, if we did not get a convention, from time to time the Legislature would have to consider changes proposed to them and ought to have the information, or, beyond that stage, the people would have it for their consideration in passing upon proposed amendments.

"He suggested an informal conference by a few members of the three universities in the state to consider whether steps should be taken privately to prepare data of this sort. One or two such informal conferences were held, and as a result the Presidents of the universities, speaking through President James of the State University, asked six men, two from the faculty of each university, to form the nucleus of such a committee.

"The members of this committee were asked to supervise the preparation of materials upon which sound opinions regarding proposed changes in our constitutional provisions could be based. They were not to adopt a partisan atti-

tude, but simply to prepare material upon the various topics in respect to which constitutional changes were likely to be proposed.

"These six men met and organized, and being empowered to add to their number they have done so from time to time; the committee now consists of over twenty members. The object has been to choose from among the body of our citizenship persons who have some special interest in particular topics and some expert information upon them, and, if possible, persons who will gather and present such material in a non-partisan manner. We feel that the final material presented by the committee as a whole will be fairly non-partisan.

"It is planned to present this material in such a manner that it may be used either by the members of a constitutional convention or by legislative committees or by persons generally who may have to consider amendments. That is, where the question is one susceptible of an appeal to facts, the person entrusted with the preparation of that subject is to gather the relevant facts; and where it is not a matter that can be settled largely by reference to facts, he is expected to collect the experiences of the various states of our country on that subject.

"It so happens that very few of the topics upon which changes have been proposed in the Illinois constitution are entirely novel. We have a very considerable body of experience upon almost all the matters where changes are suggested; and we hope by making available in a reasonably brief compass the facts and experiences thus gathered to be helpful to any committee or convention.

"It is contemplated, where practicable, that we shall present alternative proposals; for instance, in regard to various propositions it is possible that a change might be made in two or three different ways, and we hope to be able to suggest even possible wordings of some of the changes, so that one may see just how a clause would look when actually written into the constitution.

*Condensed report of an address delivered at the City Club on January 30 by Dean Hall of the Law School of the University of Chicago.

"The principal topics that have been suggested and upon which the members of our committee are doing some work are about twenty in number. Not all of them, of course, are of vital importance.

"The first one, naturally, upon which some suggestions should be made is a change in our present amending clause, which has been variously described as a strait-jacket upon the state or as a cork in the legislative bottle preventing the free flow of constitutional amendments. In three particulars the present amending clause seems defective. In the first place, it forbids the amendment of more than one article at once. It forbids the proposal of amendments to the same article oftener than once in four years. And, lastly, it requires that a majority of all persons voting at the general election at which the amendment is proposed must vote 'yes' to carry it.

"The experience of several states with reference to such limitations as these has shown that they make amendment almost impossible. If we are to have amendments proposed in the Legislature it seems that the persons interested in several other amendments must combine on that first, which would then open the gates to more than one at a time thereafter.

"Secondly: The amendment which has back of it the efforts of a large number of citizens for a considerable term of years is one to change the revenue provisions of our constitution. Some change permitting the Legislature to classify different kinds of property so that they may be taxed at differing rates is strongly urged.

"It is also asked whether it would not be wise to give the Legislature power to levy progressive taxes upon certain kinds of subjects, like incomes. Also, would it not be desirable considerably to change the present provisions about taxation by municipalities? Even though the state did not see fit in state-wide taxation to make such suggested changes, might it not be wise to allow a municipality greater freedom than the state itself is allowed in this regard? Might it not be wise to allow the municipality a free field in certain subjects at least, if not in all?

"Then there is the related subject of state and municipal finance. Should not municipalities be allowed to mortgage the franchises of their public utilities without this being considered an addition to their debt, with respect to their debt limits, the obligation created, of course, being a claim only against the specific assets of the utility mortgaged and not against the general credit of the municipality? Such provisions have recently been adopted in a number of constitutions. Would it not be desirable to give the municipality the right to use its taxing power for what is called excess condemnation? When property is condemned for certain kinds of public improvements, we all know that normally there results a very considerable increase in the value of surrounding property. If the city could condemn this surrounding property also, the city might get this rise in value. The objection to that, of course, is that it might enable the city to go into the business of real estate speculation with ultimately disastrous results. In Ohio they have protected themselves against this by providing that when the city issues bonds for excess condemnation they shall be liens only upon the excess property condemned and not general obligations of the city. Inasmuch as the bonds have to be sold, and consequently underwritten by some investment banker, bonds that are not properly secured cannot be marketed and so there is a natural check upon the city's going into unwise speculation.

"Then there is the amendment for the initiative and referendum. Amendments of that kind have now been in force in several of our states for a number of years and there is a considerable amount of experience available for the information of those who want some rock for their feet before standing up to be counted on either side.

"The fourth topic that has been much mooted is that of changing the rule of minority representation in our state. The agitation that has gone on in recent years for that change is extremely interesting, because that provision was put in as being theoretically the best for a representative democracy. The theory was that if one party had a third of the votes they ought to have a third of the representation in the Legislature, and not, as

so often happens, if they are beaten by a bare plurality they get no representation at all in a particular district. Nothing could sound fairer or more genuinely representative than to try to get into the Legislature all shades of opinion among its members that were actually fairly represented among their constituents. Yet the very persons, and by that I mean the reformers who desired anxiously that that provision should go into the constitution of 1870, now feel that it has not worked well. They confess that the result has been regularly to return a large percentage of undesirable members, because you could not beat them by a bare plurality.

"Now, we have experimented in Illinois for a generation and a half with this plan, and it has won no converts elsewhere. A good many people are dissatisfied with the results of minority representation, and a proposal to change it will be presented.

"Then there is the great question of the representation of Chicago. That, of course, is wholly a political question. The people of the rest of the state feel, and many of us who live here sympathize with that feeling, that it would be extremely unfortunate if Chicago ever possessed an actual majority of both branches of the Legislature. That, of all the questions that are likely to come before the convention or stand in the way of one being called, seems most difficult of solution. Possibly the only solution of it would be some compromise that would limit the representation of Chicago and in turn give the city a large measure of home rule, so that the city would not virtually control the state, nor the rest of the state be able unduly to interfere with the city's domestic affairs.

"Next, there is the matter of local home rule. How far should our municipalities, and particularly a large municipality like Chicago, be permitted to have home rule, not in small matters only, but in tolerably important ones as well. A large amount of experience on the subject is available.

"Then something that most persons in Chicago think is sorely needed is a consolidation of the various taxing bodies that now sprawl over Cook County and the great city of the state.

That would seem most urgently needed as an economic matter, and would scarcely seem a political question at all were it not for the number of political jobs involved.

"Then there is a demand for the reduction in the number of elective officers, the agitation for which goes under the general name of the short ballot. Persons who believe that, whatever the merits of democracy, it is quite impossible for it to choose a large number of minor officials understandingly, will urge very strongly that only the principal officers should be elected and the others should be appointed.

"Then there is the topic of woman suffrage; and upon that the committee has thought it best not to attempt to gather any material. The available arguments upon that are already pretty well known. It is not likely that a committee of this sort could publish anything that has not been published that would affect the matter one way or the other.

"Then there is the matter of judicial reorganization. There seem to be many justifiable complaints regarding the present administration of justice. Is it possible to reorganize our judicial system so as to secure greater speed, economy and efficiency? A number of men have been working on this for the last few years. They have collected a considerable body of experience from other states and countries, and, perhaps most important of all, from the Municipal Court of Chicago, and various valuable suggestions are now put forward.

"Shall our jury system be changed? Several states now provide that a verdict may be rendered by less than a unanimous vote. Should a verdict be permitted by a majority or should a larger proportion be required? Eight or nine is the common figure in the states that have changed it.

"Then there is the controversy of recent years regarding the power of courts to declare laws unconstitutional. Some proposal regarding this is certain to be urged in a constitutional convention. In Ohio an amendment has been adopted disabling the Supreme Court to declare a law unconstitutional if there is more than one dissenting judge out of a bench of seven, unless the case comes

up on appeal from a lower appellate decision against the law.

"Then there is the topic of executive reorganization. We have already taken some steps to consider methods for reorganizing the executive department of the state upon somewhat radical lines, in order that it may more economically and efficiently perform its functions.

"Then there is the whole topic of legislative representation in the state at large, besides the particular problem in Chicago, and the reorganization of the Legislature and its modes of procedure. I suppose there are very few states where the methods of legislative procedure are as bad as in Illinois. Could something be placed in the constitution to secure more efficient methods of procedure?

"Also, there are a host of matters involving various domestic problems. How far should the constitution fix the status of public utilities? How far should it authorize the Legislature to deal with various social and economic matters, outside of the prohibitions of the due process of law clause in the Illinois constitution? How far should the constitution deal with corporations, with banks, with civil service rules and with elections? What general powers should be secured to county and municipal governments?

"Now, many of these, as you see, are

matters where expert suggestion and the information that can be gathered by specialists will be very valuable to any group of men honestly trying to devise improvements in our machinery of state government. The committee has been working on the matter for the past year. We hope by the time the convention is called, or by the time that the Legislature is ready to propose amendments more freely, that we shall have a considerable body of material ready upon most of the matters I have mentioned, which may be placed at the service of the members of the convention or its committees, or of the Legislature, or the state in general."

A MEMBER: "I would like to ask if the speaker favors the putting of judges under civil service?"

MR. HALL: "I do not, as a speaker here this afternoon, favor anything. I am simply stating the problems that come before any body of men who deal with proposed changes in the constitution, and we shall endeavor and have endeavored to collect the arguments on either side for the use of anyone who wishes to form a judgment in the matter. Many of these arguments are so evenly sided that a person who had no convictions on a matter may not have any more after he had finished reading them than when he began."





The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

VOLUME VIII

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1915

NUMBER 3

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CLUB AND PERSONAL NOTES

Exhibitions and conferences do not arrange themselves. The attention of club members is specially directed to the item in this issue which gives proper credit to the committees—and the active members of these—to which we are indebted for the Exhibition of Public Properties of Chicago, which opens on March 2. A full program of this notable series of meetings and conferences accompanies this issue of the Bulletin. Read the announcements carefully, consider their scope and significance and then turn to the list of committees whose faithful and hard work, covering a long period, they represent.

By the way, the best way to show appreciation of good work is to contribute to its success. Members should attend as many of the meetings and conferences constituting the exhibition as they can possibly spare time for. They will not be disappointed. No feature of the program will be dull or dry or vaguely theoretical. Everything will be interesting and directly related to the vital problems and opportunities of the day and right here at home.

The neighborhood center competition is an important and unique feature of the Public Properties Exhibition. It is entirely safe to say that it will challenge not only local but national and international interest. Nothing of the kind has been attempted before, either in this country or in Europe. Neighborhood centers have "just grown," like Topsy. Even among intelligent and studious people one meets many who hardly know what

the phrase "a neighborhood center" means and embraces. The club's competition and its results will throw some light into this twilight zone. It will give civic workers and citizens definite ideas regarding neighborhood centers—how they may be conceived, planned and built, and what public, quasi public and private functions and activities these centers should undertake to care for, and, in a measure, anticipate. Some one should write an essay on "The Neighborhood Center Before and After the City Club's Competition." It would prove a best seller in the circles interested in city planning and municipal reconstruction or progress.

The club's committee on membership has been enlarged and an active, earnest campaign is on to add names to the club's roll of honor—of interest in good, intelligent citizenship. Have you read and digested the new leaflet on the subject? Have you given some thought to the question of finding one or two desirable members in your own circle of personal and business friends? If not—well, a hint to the wise is as good as a volume.

Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland spoke before the club Feb. 4 on the telegraph and telephone situation—rates, service and the advisability of government operation of these public utilities. He spoke elsewhere in Chicago on the same subject and an elaborate argument is to be printed and circulated by him in support of government ownership. Members of the club will receive copies of this speech.

Dr. A. Eugene Bartlett of Brooklyn, New York, spoke before the club on Feb. 6 on the subject of "A Constructive Program for Peace." The attendance was large and the address interesting and stimulating. Many questions were put to the speaker by the members. Dr. Bartlett opposed any increase in the army or college instruction in military tactics. He favored more comprehensive arbitration, peace teaching in schools and colleges, and fair and pacific diplomacy. He had no fear of complications with Japan and favored closer contact with the Orient. He wished us to "get acquainted with the Japanese and Chinese," and to get rid of vague fear and vague prejudice. He said:

"We should send our college and even our high school graduates to the east and let them get acquainted with those peoples. Our lawyers should go there and learn of their laws, and our farmers should study their intensive farming methods. Spend our money for peace, and we will not have war."

From the bulletin of the City Club of New York we learn that the total membership of the club in all classes on January 1 was 1,349, distributed as follows: Life, 29; resident, 495; junior, 124; borough, 137; suburban, 207; non-resident, 341; absentees, 15; honor-ary, 1.

The sixth concert of the popular (or civic) series by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra will be given at Orchestra Hall on Thursday, March 4. The program is as follows:

Overture to "Der Schauspieldirektor" . . . Mozart
Nocturne and Scherzo from Music to "A
Midsummer Night's Dream" . . . Mendelssohn

Suite, "Mozartiana" Tchaikovsky
(a) Prayer.
(b) Theme and Variations.
Rhapsody, "Italia" Casella
Overture to "The Secret of Susanne"
Benedictus Wolf-Ferrari
Dreams: A Study to "Tristan and Isolde"
Concert Waltz, No. 1, in D Wagner
Polonaise, in E Glazounow
Liszt

We are disposed to think that the first and fifth numbers might have been dispensed with in favor of more significant, melodious or stirring compositions. As has been said in the press, the audiences at these splendid popular concerts demand "melody and emotion, emotion and beauty." Any number that falls flat injures this series of concerts. Enthusiasm should rule these occasions, and every number on a programme should be there because it clearly has a right and a place there. On the whole, the programs have been admirable, but "eternal vigilance" is the price of popular loyalty and popular interest in symphonic music.

Mr. Walsh's address, reported in this issue of the Bulletin, falls naturally into two distinct parts. The first sets forth the task and methods of the commission he presides over; the second presents his own personal views and conclusions. His auditors liked the latter and vigorously applauded them. Some went away asking: If we are to declare war on low wages, what are the causes of low wages? Does it rest with employers to pay high or living wages? If not, what is the matter with industry and trade? What factors are depressing the rate of wages and earnings? These questions Mr. Walsh left to other speakers.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT QUESTION*

THE CHAIRMAN: "By the attendance today it is evident that we realize that the question of momentous importance, and having a tremendous bearing upon the future welfare of every part of our country, is the question of the unemployed. It is that feature in connection

with every period of depression that makes it most distressing, no matter from what cause the depression may arise. With it comes this great problem of the unemployed. The time has gone by when we can in any way lay aside the responsibilities which go with what is necessary for every man to live by and live with. There was a time, when, having done our duty towards our family, towards business, and the ordinary duties

*Condensed report of addresses made at the City Club on Thursday, February 3, 1915, Judge Hugo Pam presiding.

of citizenship, such as voting, we were satisfied. And that feeling pervaded not only the individual but every part of our business life. But that is no longer the extent of our responsibility. We today are our brothers' keepers. That has been demonstrated here by the men and the women who make up the best part of our country and of our citizenship generally. Naturally, we look to the head of our government, namely, the nation, to lead the way. And so it has come down to us through the state, to the municipality, that that spirit of responsibility for the welfare of others is being written upon our statute books, and the statutes and laws of our nation, our state, and in the ordinances of our city. But it is also being carried into our every-day life. And it is because there is that union of spirit between our official life and our private that we can look forward to a solution of this question; a solution that may not be an instant one, but which argues well, at least, for the future."

MR. LOUIS F. POST

"There is no possibility of any machinery of government coping with this question in any but a purely superficial way until the sentiment of the people shall have advanced far enough to appreciate the meaning in all its depths of Tolstoy's observation, that the rich are willing to do anything for the poor except to get off of their backs. But the machinery of the government can do something to ameliorate economic conditions. And the department of labor is trying to supplement the local machinery in such a way as to create a nation-wide organism, which may make the local machinery most effective and enable the national government to render the greatest possible assistance.

"In order that you may understand better what we are trying to do I want to give you an understanding of the department of labor, its origin, its statutory purpose, and the policy under which that purpose is being administered by Secretary Wilson.

"The department of labor is the tenth department of the government in order of formation. The demand for it originated immediately after the Civil War. The federal soldiers and the confederate

soldiers, thrown out to find opportunities for employment at that time, began to organize; and in consequence of that organization, a conference was held at Cincinnati, along about the middle of the '60s. A specific demand was made by that conference, composed of both the blue and the gray, among the wage-earners, for a seat in the cabinet for a representative of the wage-earners of the United States.

"They had realized that the wage-earners were good business men; that they have as much right as any other class of business men to representation in the council of the government; and that they are at a peculiar disadvantage as business men.

"The essential difference, and about the only difference between the wage-earner and what we call a business man, is that the wage-earner, in the very nature of his business, can have but one customer at a time. And because he can only have but one customer at a time, his employer, he is at a great disadvantage in bargaining. And that is a disadvantage which necessitates some kind of protection; something that will enable him to bargain collectively.

"That was the situation. It represented a very large interest. Today the wage-earners' interest is probably over half of that of the population of the United States. Over one-third, at least, of the population of the United States is composed of wage-earners. And when you take into consideration the families of the wage-earners, that part of the family which does not produce, which does not work; that part which only makes beds, washes dishes, cooks the meals, and does all that sort of thing for the head of the family, you will have probably one-half of the population within the wage-earning classes.

Bureau of Labor Created

"After long agitation Congress came to the place where it felt that something must be done, and it created the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That was along in the early '80s, I think. It was made an independent Bureau. It was not satisfactory to the wage-earners. What they wanted was somebody at the head of a department who could have a seat at the

council table of the President, who could speak for the wage-earners' interest to the President, and through him officially to Congress. There was more agitation. And then when it did reach a point where it seemed that they would get such a department, the business interests came in and insisted upon a department of commerce, and the two were fastened together, linked together. But it was an improper combination, that department of commerce and labor. The labor part of it had very little representation, out of the very nature of the case.

"The agitation continued until two years ago when Congress passed a measure which created out of that old double-headed department, two departments; the department of commerce and the department of labor. So that after fifty years the department of labor was created, and it was created with a secretary at the head of it who was entitled to a seat at the cabinet table.

"The purpose of the department of labor as expressed in its organic idea is to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States; to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment.

"Whoever put that word 'profitable' in understood the situation. He may be dead by this time. If he is dead he has wings today, and they are white wings instead of black wings. He knew what he was about.

"You will be told on every hand that there is good times and plenty of employment; that there is work to be got all the time. I could employ a million men, I imagine, today, but it would not be profitable employment. And that is the way with most employers who are available to the great wage-earning classes.

"This department is created in the interest and welfare of one class, the wage-earners. The present secretary, the first secretary of this department, takes the ground that it is for a particular interest, namely, the wage-earners' interest, that this department was created. Primarily we represent that interest, but, incidentally and broadly we represent the wage-earners' interest with full, complete and fair regard for the interests of all other interests concerned.

"There has been a good deal of criticism afloat regarding it, which, I think, is inspired for the purpose of affecting this department as the representative of organized labor. The employers are doubtful of its good will. But, really, the present head of that department is trying his best to make this department the true representative of the wage-earners of the United States, without prejudice to any other legitimate interest.

Four Distinct Bureaus

"In this department there are four bureaus. First, the Children's Bureau, a most excellent one, under the care of Miss Lathrop, of Chicago, and the Naturalization Bureau. The Naturalization Bureau has been heretofore confining its attention, and properly so, to keeping out from naturalization the men who seemed to be unfit for citizenship. We are now trying to advance that Bureau so that it will spread its work over the country and aid local organizations, judges and others, in helping to make foreigners fit for citizens, and in inducing them to become citizens.

"Now, as to the unemployed question. There has grown up naturally out of one of the functions of one of the bureaus, the Bureau of Immigration, the other Bureau we have, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which is the right arm of this department for gathering and collecting facts to assist in providing work for the unemployed.

"The Immigration Bureau has heretofore devoted almost all of its attention to the expenditure of its money as well as its energies to keeping out less than two per cent of those immigrants to this country. We are trying to have that Bureau devote some of its attention and energies to the ninety-eight per cent of the immigrants that we let in, instead of turning them loose to fall into traps. We are trying to look after them, not alone in their interest but in the interest of the public at large. And in looking after such people we think we can look after, also, the American.

"In the Bureau of Information there is a division called the Division of Information. It was established for the purpose of collecting information for the use of immigrants and other persons, and to

distribute that information to those who asked for it. That division has never been very effective, simply because not very many people asked for the information. Also because, while it was its duty to give information to those who asked for it, and to immigrants especially, it was not allowed to spend a penny for printing such information in any language but English. We hope that we shall overcome that by the strong arm of the administration, so that it will be sufficiently desired on the part of the public to be supported by the public.

"That is the way that entrance into the employment question has been made possible by the Department of Labor. That division of information has power to gather all necessary information. It has the power to disseminate that information among aliens and other persons asking for it. The department has broader power than any other department, for no department has the power I have described to you for advancing, fostering and promoting the interests and the welfare of the wage-earners.

A Nucleus for a System

"By taking all these laws together, and this machinery as one, we have established a nucleus for a system of employment bureaus over the United States which will give assistance to the local bureaus which have been or may be established; an agency which can sweep the whole field and gather statistics and promote the objects of the local agencies and such objects as local agencies cannot take into their hands.

"Last summer this first took practical shape. There came a call from Oklahoma for harvest hands. It was a loud call. It was such a call as causes our local newspapers here to ask: 'What are the workmen complaining about? Look at the employment there may be had. Why don't they go out of the city? Here is a call comes up here from the farmers of the West. Why don't they go out there and get to work?' But the men who have tried it know why they complain. There are many reasons. One reason is, they can only work but a very short time. Another reason, they may not be suited for that kind of work, for it requires men accustomed to hard physi-

cal labor; and not only that, but to hard physical labor in the open air under the hot sun. It means picked men. Then the hours are long, the work is hard, and the pay not very good.

"The department has tried to take care of the call for labor when it has come from Kansas, Oklahoma and the Dakotas. Secretary Wilson casts about for some means of making the response effective, and he said, 'Here, we can bring the post office into our service and with its aid do something, at any rate.' By combining with the Postmaster General he succeeded in placing in the post offices in the United States bulletins announcing those calls; and he gave the facts about the calls. He gave the facts on the bulletin as to what kind of work it was; where it was, and whom to report to, and what the wages would be, how long the work would last, probably. Hardly had it gotten out when the men went out in a rush. That was in the early days of June. And on the 24th of June, in response to calls from those same states, the department recalled those bulletins through the Post Office Department. If you will think for a minute about what they do in the country villages you will know what happened. If a country postmaster gets an order to do something of that kind he hangs up the bulletin, and then he puts the new bulletin up. So that in a great many places both bulletins were up at the same time. In some of the districts the second one did not get up, and in many places both of them were up together. People were applying to do harvest work along in November and December. And so the story has gone the rounds of the public press that the work of the Department of Labor was worse than useless.

"In time all of that work of co-operation of the Post Office Department and the Department of Labor will become more effective, and we hope to extend it and put it on a permanent basis, so that the manless job shall get the jobless man.

Extent of the Relief

"But that won't solve the problem. There is not a manless job under the present economic system, but there are jobless men. For every manless job there is a jobless man to take it. To that ex-

tent we may relieve the condition.

"In conference with Congress and the Department of Agriculture, arrangements were made so that the Department of Labor would have the whole hearty support to the fullest extent of its power of the Department of Agriculture, so that it could put one hundred and seventy thousand men in the field all the time in every part of the United States.

"In order to make it still further effective, the United States is divided by the Immigration Bureau into eighteen zones, with headquarters in each zone. Chicago is in one zone and the headquarters of the zone are in Chicago. The work has just begun.

"In time, at every post office, there will be permanent bulletins, out in the open, notifying men who want jobs and men who want workers that if they will inquire at the post office they can get a blank. The postmaster has nothing to do with it. He does not fill it out, but they can take it to him to fill it out. They may get a blank from the rural carrier anywhere as he passes the house. Wherever an employer or a hired man is seeking men for a job, he can fill out the blank and go to the post office and from there it will be mailed to the headquarters of the sub-quarters of the zone in which that post office is. There all the blanks are brought together in forms provided for the purpose so that at a glance the manager of the headquarters or the sub-quarters can tally off the applications for jobs against the applications for men and find out how they fit and arrange to send them out.

"Those blanks ask for an answer to the question: 'Are you willing to advance transportation?' He can say 'Yes' or 'No.' If he says 'Yes,' then the question is asked, 'Will you take it out of the wage-earner's wages at a certain ratio during a certain period?' He may say 'Yes,' or 'No.' If he says 'Yes,' there is the next question, 'If the man starts in and is satisfactory, when will you return that money to him?' So that it is made possible, if a man wants to go into the work, that he will be able to get the farmer to pay the expenses of transportation. And the farmer gets a guarantee of insurance that the man will stay. Another thing. When a man is engaged the

officials we use for the purpose will take charge of the man and see that he gets on the right railroad to the place; he will take his baggage and send it on to the man who employs him. He gets references before there are any dealings with him.

Co-operative Relations

"So far as steady labor, general labor, is concerned, we are trying to cover the farmers' field, the domestic field, the factory field, and one other. But it is a matter of development, and of development within a very few days or a few weeks. Meantime we will come into co-operative relations with these local organizations who have the same general object in view, and we hope to build up and perfect the system and find out where it is weak, find out where we need legislation and where we do not need legislation, in order to perfect it until we reach the point where we can draw a bill for the creation of an institution to carry this out and to even go farther with it; a bill which will be based on actual experience. We are proceeding on the theory that it is better to have the plan studied and legislation passed than it would be to have a congressional bill passed by Congress that would not know much about the subject.

"For one moment I want to touch on the seasonal problem. That is a very serious problem. Take the corn belt. It is a peculiar employment there in the grain belt. There is an army which passes from Northern Mexico into Texas and up into the Dakotas; it goes from field to field, from locality to locality in the crop season and according to the weather conditions; it may have to fall back on itself here and there. But it is a steady march. Not more than half the men required for the harvest are in that army when it starts. It must be recruited from the hobo class very largely.

"There is that great army that is recruited in the way that I have indicated. It must be of picked men, more or less, and hobos are not a class of picked men. Those men ordinarily work in mines, in factories, and they are accustomed to work in the open air, as they must be in order to be efficient men. And when I see the men who go to constitute that annual army during the harvest time, plus

the man who digs the dirt, I know that out of every hundred men in that army that is absolutely needed during the most of the summer period the whole wheat belt could not support twenty-five per cent the whole year around. It could not support, probably, fifteen per cent. Even at twenty-five per cent they would need in the locality for less than three months an army of men they could not support for the other nine months of the year.

"Here is a problem to cope with. And you cannot cope with it in any haphazard way. You have to organize some kind of an army that will be glad to leave town for a vacation in the open air and men competent for that particular purpose who will be glad to go out for a week or two weeks or three weeks on a sort of a vacation.

Seasonal Problem

"The problem will be how to organize those men in such a way as to be able, if necessary within three to five days, to meet that demand. The farmer won't make demands in advance for any great length of time. The farmer does not know what his crop will be. The farmers will say they probably will want so many thousand men in one particular region. But the farmer won't bargain to take them. There may come a blight, or the harvest may be richer than was expected. Until three or four or five days before the work begins no one can tell whether they want more or less. That has to be provided for. That is the seasonal problem. It seems to me that possibly some Americanized adaptation of the Russian Artel System can be devised under which men would volunteer for vacation work and take their chances on being ordered out by the head of their organization, so that when the demand comes, the final demand, three or four or five days before the men are needed, they can be toled off from the list and sent out there. But then comes the problem of cheap transportation. Unless we can get our railroads to provide them with quick transportation on excursion rates we shall be up against another part of the problem.

"That is the problem of the unemployed. We are trying to help solve it on the surface. I am inclined to wonder at

the—shall I call it the intelligence?—of some people who are trying to solve this problem. Why should there be any unemployed at all? Who are the customers of the people who do the work of the world except the consumers of the world? How has consumption been satisfied? As long as any man is without a coat, or as good a coat as he wants, there is work for the tailor, there is work for the spinner, and there is work for the wool farmer, and work for all kinds of people. When you get down to the bottom, where there shall be no interference, there you will be free to work at your specialty and to interchange the products of labor. And when you get down to the principle of letting men help their fellows without interference, then you will begin to see the bottom of the unemployed problem; then you will begin to clear away the obstruction, so that the unemployed men can come together with those who want help."

MISS JANE ADDAMS

"When the Committee suggested that I say something to you today, I think it was not that I might enter into the general subject of unemployment, but that I should say a few words about the Chicago situation and something of the recent occurrence at Hull House. And I am glad for this opportunity to make an explanation.

"In the first place, I would like to go over with you just a moment the attitude of Chicago underlying the unemployment problem this winter and contrasting it with some of the other principal American cities.

"It was suggested here in various conferences, in some of which I was present, that it would be better not to make a general appeal for an unemployment fund this winter. It was thought that such an appeal would get into the papers, and give out the impression abroad that there was a lot of money for unemployed men to be dispensed in Chicago this winter, and that it would attract men here. Chicago is so near to the great lumber district, it is so near to the ice-cutting fields, it is so near to casual labor markets, that men come here from the West under the idea that it is the natural relief point for the unemployed; at least, a point which

they may easily reach and take advantage of the unemployment funds.

"Perhaps that reasoning was sound, but the natural result was that the unemployed in Chicago felt that there was no public fund, no fund in contradistinction to a charitable fund. It left the unemployed in the relation of recipients of charity.

"I would like to describe a condition that exists in regard to that matter in such cities as Cleveland, Detroit, Louisville, New York, Philadelphia and any one of those cities who do have such funds.

Example of Detroit

"For instance, in Detroit the unemployed problem reached a serious situation, and the Chamber of Commerce there during the hours when they were not using their hall gave the use of their large hall to the men who were out of work. There they made up a list of the men who were out of work and the men gave references to the employers by whom they were last employed. Then the regular business houses sent their own employes to look up the references of those unemployed men. If the men could show such references and if the employer corroborated his statement, after the men had been looked up, if they were out of work through no fault of the men but through the exigencies of the situation, then such men received a red card and were told to come back again at other hours to the Chamber of Commerce. Such men were given work when they produced the red card. And the business men agreed to do all sorts of things in order to give such men work. And they did provide for all kinds of extra work, extra cleaning, extra undertakings in their business, and almost all of those men who had red cards were provided with employment.

"Again, in Detroit, they found that a lot of those unemployed men were paying for their houses. They had bought their little house and lot, and in some instances provision had to be made in such cases. Of course, we cannot give money appropriated for charitable purposes to pay off interest on a mortgage. But in Detroit the business men were able to advance the money for the purpose, so as to tide over the better class of workingmen who

ordinarily would not be out of work but who were not working this winter.

"Here in Chicago we have not done that sort of thing. In Hull House we have had one donation of five hundred dollars given us to help people where we find need. Yesterday we had fifty-three men asking for work, only about half of whom we could take care of. We have done all we could at Hull House during this winter. The House has been painted and cared for where it needed, all of the fifteen buildings. Every clock in Hull House is going; every electric light is in good order; every violin has been repaired in the music school; every piano has been tuned, and we have done everything that we possibly could to provide employment. We have done what we could not afford to do in ordinary times.

"Now, that is just an illustration. The same thing is going on in many other parts of the city. But the charities cannot take hold of these men as we do at Hull House. The charities say: 'We cannot do a thing for you if you are behind in your rent until you have received the second notice of eviction from your landlord.' That is rather galling to a man who has always heretofore paid his rent. And so the charities cannot give orders for food until the man's credit is exhausted with his grocer. Of course, the man does not like that. He feels he is being reduced to the status of a pauper before he is relieved.

Hull House Incidents

"That is the situation. It may be an unjustifiable grievance, but it is one of the grievances that is felt by many of the unemployed men in Chicago today.

"Now I will give you some idea of what occurred the other day at Hull House. I have long since ceased to apologize for what we do at Hull House or what we do not do, because there we are in the midst of a difficult situation and we are trying hard to do the best we can with it. We make mistakes; we make them all the time. We can only hope, year in and year out, that we have the confidence of the public that we are trying to do the best we can with a difficult situation.

"Every winter we have had men at Hull House in our largest hall on a Sun-

day afternoon, and groups of men, most of whom belong to a brotherhood that Mr. Howe is connected with, called the Brotherhood of the Unemployed. Some of you know Mr. Howe. He is the grandson of a man who built the big bridge at St. Louis, and after his grandfather died he inherited a certain amount of money, trust money; that is the story. He gave the money to the Mayor of St. Louis, because he did not wish to have it himself, because he felt very sorry for other people. The Mayor had to do something with it for the poor of St. Louis. But the Mayor of St. Louis said he could not take the money, and he sent it back to him. Then the young man insisted again, and the Mayor had some doctors go see if the young man was sane. Finally the idea was adopted of having a board of trustees appointed, and out of that fund a number of shelters have been built in St. Louis, and his interest in such work has been going on for years.

"For many years he has been coming to Hull House, off and on, and he has been at the meetings of the Brotherhood of the Unemployed. These men have met there winter after winter. We have never had any disturbance at those meetings. Sometimes we would supply some bread and coffee when the winter was cold. The men always served it themselves; we never handed it out. Many times I have seen men fill their tin cups with coffee three or four times, and eat an entire loaf of bread. They must have been very hungry.

"Last Sunday some young men came to the hall; they were supposed to represent the Brotherhood of the Unemployed. We discovered some time afterward that some of them represented the League of Unemployed, which was another set of men. They met there together. They had invited Mrs. Parsons and other speakers to speak to them—speakers who speak with more vehemence than wisdom, sometimes, and a disturbance occurred as a result. Someone proposed that they should march.

"I don't want to go into the details of that performance. Apparently, the police knew all about it, and they were able to mass at Maxwell street and Desplaines street stations about one hundred police.

They might have told us at Hull House that they were expecting trouble. We did not know that. A disturbance did occur. I was not at that meeting. Quite ironically, I was addressing a peace meeting when I was sent for, and when I reached Hull House the disturbance was over.

"I found that about twenty-one people had been arrested, and we found some friends to bail them out. It was stated they had led the parade without a permit. I do not wish to pass upon that. It was all in the papers and I think the situation was fairly stated.

"In a good sense every man is his brother's keeper. And that is the relation that has existed at Hull House. It is the relation people should live in.

"That has been a good place for those men to go to, a warm place for them to hold their meetings on Sunday afternoons. And you know that they want to have the right to march. In San Francisco there was a parade through the city, and it was an orderly parade.

That Parade Episode

"They said, among other things here in Chicago, that the unemployed men in Chicago were being forgotten; that there was no sympathetic response. They were the parade, and we felt that they had a right to come and discuss their situation and have an orderly parade the second time. But the second time it did not go so well in many ways, perhaps, as the first time—not because of the fiery things which were said, because these speeches were not very remarkable. The young man in the chair was determined to have a parade, and when he put the question whether there was to be a parade or not, he took the very simple expedient of not putting the other side. I went up to the rostrum, not to make a speech, but in the interest of fair play. It seemed to me the chairman was not fair. I got up after they began to arrange the parade. There was no confusion, only a man near the platform was trying to speak and the rest of them were getting to the door, except the group of men who stayed. And I think the men who stayed were the original group of our men who live in the neighborhood and who usually come to Hull House.

"That is the situation. We are sorry if any disorder occurred anywhere, and certainly we are sorry that it should have occurred in our particular quarters. We do not want to get into any controversy with the Mayor, but the solution of the unemployment problem is quite as much his task as it is that of Hull House. There was a very animated meeting in a hall down town here about two weeks ago, but the police were not there, and the reporters were not there, and nothing was said about it. But when it comes to having a meeting at Hull House, then the reporters, the police and everybody know about it, perhaps because Hull House promises a little better copy for the newspapers and a little more sensational news.

"What we claim is this: There are these groups of unemployed men all over the city. They are trying their best to find work with more or less success. They are trying for the most part to find out what they can do to better their condition. Alderman Lawler's report is just out which has some definite recommendations in regard to the matter. And the Industrial League is beginning to give out cards to some of the men. The business men of Chicago are taking hold of the situation with some vigor, with more vigor than they did earlier in the winter.

"Two things are important with these unemployed men. Many are out of employment through no fault of their own. They begin to realize that the problem is being thought of and discussed by other men in this city who are not at the present moment out of employment.

Radical Youth Not Dangerous

"Some of these men are radical, more or less, and they are exploiting the movement for their own propaganda, one way or the other. I want to say a word about these radicals. I have known a great many generations of young men. I have lived twenty-five years at Hull House, and I feel kind of grandmotherly towards the young men of the foreign nationalities who come over—and come over very much stirred up by European conditions. During their first year in America they talk a good deal and do not talk very wisely. After a few years' residence here they do no more talking; in three years you no longer hear their voices at the meetings. They have found their place. And then a new group comes over, and they talk for a year or two, and then they are absorbed back into society. It is exactly as it is in a college or any other place where young men like to debate and where they are full of generous ideas and want to make the world over. It is a good thing for this old world of ours that youth should come up and challenge us. To my mind, it is a great mistake to try to put an end to such strife.

"We ought not to leave the question of the unemployed in the hands of those young people; it ought to be taken hold of by ourselves, or by the responsible men and women who have given the subject real study, so as to assure in some way the unemployed that you do not play with the situation; that you share in the blame for the situation they are confronted with and do your share in solving it."

THE WORK OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.*

MR. FRANK P. WALSH

"About two and a half years ago a significant sign of the times was the creation of a commission of which I have the privilege of being a member, and, at the present time, Chairman. Forward-looking citizens of the United States came to the conclusion that the time had arrived when the government itself

should make a study of industrial conditions. The immediate cause of this agitation was the series of lamentable occurrences that had taken place on the Pacific Coast, a series of crimes which absolutely shocked the American people.

"Epitomizing the statute which creates this commission, we were charged with the duty of inquiring into conditions of labor, into the leading industries of the United States and especially

*Condensed report of address delivered by Mr. Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Commission, at the City Club, on February 20. Mr. W. L. Cheney presided at the meeting.

those carried on in corporate form; to study the creation and maintenance of labor unions and organizations of employers; to study systems of collective bartering, and, finally, to ascertain, as far as possible, the causes of industrial dissatisfaction and make recommendations to Congress.

"This commission was not confirmed until so much of its life, originally fixed at three years, had elapsed, that we had but twenty-two months in which to do the work. After a survey of the situation, the commission came to the conclusion that perhaps by concentrating its efforts and by assembling a staff of experts, the work, so far as the public or the Government was concerned, could be as well done in twenty-two months as in two years. We appointed a staff of experts to make intensive investigations of the leading industries, and have conducted a series of public hearings that extended across the United States.

"Our work now has brought us to the time when we must center our forces upon digesting a great mass of facts gathered from various sources, editing them and getting ready the report required by Congress before the middle of August. We necessarily had to go into what might be called the acute and troublesome situations in labor, and perhaps a wrong perspective has been thrown out concerning the work of this commission. In investigating these large industries we have examined perhaps thousands of witnesses. We have attempted to take the views of the great employers of labor, and all those, even among the workers, who have stood for labor on account of their apparent intelligence and sympathy with the cause they represent, and we have called in those who have no compelling voice, the unskilled workmen who have no organization, and who are the easiest subjects of exploitation.

"It is a matter of pride on the part of the commission, as it will be upon the part of the people, that it was not an unusual case to find employers everywhere who had such high regard for the responsibilities that rested upon them in the conduct of great industries as to challenge the admiration of the commission. Unfortunately, a story plainly told of a proper assumption of responsibility,

of a faithful discharge of duty, is not a sensational matter, and little of it gets into the newspapers. Whenever a condition is met with that sets forth abuses of grave character—and I am sorry to say many such have been brought to light—that is something that the public desires to hear about, and greater emphasis is given to that without any weightier reasons.

Concentration of Ownership

"Lately we have carried our work into New York City. So far as doing our most important work, so far as fixing responsibility and getting up constructive legislation in the future is concerned, we found in going into these great industries, that they had grown into such magnitude in the last decade that the ownership was concentrated in comparatively few hands. I believe it is proved that something more than one-half of the potential employing power of the United States of America is lodged in Manhattan Island. Again and again we found conditions that called for some quick remedy, some attention from the State, and perhaps the Nation, where it was difficult to fix responsibility, because the ruling power was in some distant financial center like New York City.

"So, for the purpose of fixing this responsibility, much attention was centered upon our hearings in New York, for there we called the directors or owners as distinguished from the managers of the great industries, and asked them what they believed their responsibilities were as owners and directors; as to what method they employed to ascertain the conditions of labor; as to what they thought about the modern laws designed to give vitality to the great principles of right concurred in by all men, the correlative of the right to live being the right to work, and involving the right to work under proper conditions.

"I hope I may not be considered as saying overmuch for the commission when I declare that our record now contains a better basis for future legislation than perhaps the Government ever has had before.

"This commission, composed of nine members, created on the assumption that upon fundamentals they would have somewhat conflicting viewpoints, sur-

prisingly came together upon the proposition that the work should be along the line of the deepest and most sweeping character, and that no matter what the facts were they should be brought to light and the American people given the benefit of them through publicity, and that Congress, our Representatives, get them in such shape that they might intelligently frame legislation upon them.

"The commission has never had an opportunity to analyze the facts as yet.

"But the general conclusion as to the depth of the investigation was agreed upon readily, and we have made one report of progress to Congress that shows the deep ramifications of our investigation. There will be no other report made until the final report.

"As I went about through this country, in addition to the ideas that I fundamentally possessed, I found that conditions stood out, or situations stood out in such bold relief as to bring to my mind at least the larger elements that make for social unrest. What I say to you may sound like a tentative conclusion, but I beg you to understand that they are the personal observations that I have gathered as I have gone about this country on the larger elements that enter into our work, and they are in no way expressive of the ideas of the rest of the commission.

"I am going to give a few observations here and a few suggestions growing out of them that have grown stronger and stronger with me, and which I desire to submit as probably what might be called a tentative conclusion as to the condition of the warfare going on for the betterment of mankind, the cause underlying these great movements, and the coming remedies."

Leading Thoughts

A thought occurs to me as I look about the world and observe the great forces that have been created within the last decade to work for the "betterment of mankind." I see great organizations of men and women well equipped, thoroughly provisioned, sufficiently financed and backed by a moral weight such as the world never before saw and has not yet realized. It seems to me that those of us who are earnest and trying to be thorough in our efforts

have a chance before us such as no other portion of mankind ever before had.

But another thought occurs to me, and that is, that we have a divided army. A common enemy confronts us: a solid phalanx,—the allies of sin and suffering, of disease and premature death. But look at our army. We are dressed each in a different uniform. Bad tactics on our part divide our forces.

We have great organizations which are fighting with scientific coolness against disease. We have religious bodies battling zealously for a purer life. We have hosts of women struggling for the ballot in order to give more certain and definite aid to us. We have great philanthropies engaged in an effort against distress. We have many agencies which are making war on the evils of mankind. But we fight, paired off, as it were, religion against sin, science against disease, social justice against false economies, philanthropy against suffering. Let us have a new declaration of war and a good mobilization! I hold that every organization we have for good should strike a blow at the main offender,—

Low wages and the resultant indecent standard of living for a thinking and toiling race!

When we divide our forces into three great battalions: those working for better economic conditions, those working for better social conditions, and those working for better moral conditions, we make a monumental blunder. Lines can not be drawn between the economic, social and moral life of the people. They rise or fall together and economic conditions always dominate. The greatest influence on life is produced by environment. The only factor which enters into environment is the economic factor. The income of a family absolutely determines its place of living, its manner of living and its interpretation of life.

So well recognized is this fact that while the thought may strike us as semi-new, it is one that everybody realizes. You have no hesitation in saying that there are various classes. What are classes? They are human beings of various strata. They actually dwell on plateaus of various heights, according to popular and universal conception. Why?

The Economic Factor

Simply because of the economic factor in the lives of the various classes. Each takes on the color of its class according to its income. The economic factor decides for each class the texture and value of its clothing, the quality of its food, its place of residence, its associates, its tastes, its amusements; indeed, every outward aspect of life is lived practically the same way by each individual in each class. And the economic factor enters more largely into the mental aspects of the individual than it does on his physical aspects. His belonging to any of the various classes practically determines for him his view on morals, sociology, sin, and suffering. If you will analyze your views, you will find that they practically coincide with those of persons of your own class.

The point is that if those who are concerned with social and moral betterment would join in with those of us who are primarily concerned with establishing economic justice; if they would help to force better wages, a decent standard of living, a better environment, more leisure and less laborious situations on ninety per cent of the people, we could cut their work at least in half.

I agree with Henry Ford to this extent: That the sane and well nurtured person is instinctively good and primarily honest. He may be the victim of greed and forced to the same attitude as that used by his oppressors, but that is usually because he is economically powerless and forced to go with the tide.

We should begin the new warfare by getting our conceptions "on straight." At present we have a veneration for wealth in this country that has made concrete wealth supra-legal. It has usurped powers to itself that in the course of generations have become practically recognized by the great public as belonging to it. The first principle is shown in the law allowing a man to engage in a business and wrest his profits, not from the business, but from what should be the just earnings of his employees.

New Maxim for Society

What we need is a saner appreciation of the facts of life. We have a perfect right to withhold the protection of organized society, in its governmental

or legal function, from one man who is doing many of us hurt. The old maxim of "the greatest good to the greatest number" has been recast into the idea that the powers of government should be exercised or withheld for the greatest good to the least and weakest of mankind. If this new concept breaks down the methods by which enormous fortunes are secured, the world is better served. Great fortunes are as active a menace in themselves as they are to their possessors. They lead to greater and greater travesties on justice and a more insane vision of power by those who control them. The owners of such fortunes must have, indubitably, at some time or the other crossed the line of true economics, ethics, equity and the criminal law. An enormous fortune is a wrong proved by itself.

Those guilty of economic abuses for gain may be divided into these classes: Those who, by corruption and there devious means, secure franchises and other special privileges to exploit entire communities and whole sections; the men who, by similar methods, secure a grip upon land and other natural resources, the common inheritance of all, for the purpose either to selfishly exploit the same, or hold it way from the beneficial use of their fellowman; the men who work thousands of other men in dangerous and unhealthful factories and mines; the men who employ women and children in unhealthful occupations, or in insanitary workshops, the exploiting employers who impose upon their helpless workers long hours at wages which will not allow for that sweet contentment of mind which makes of labor a joy; the man who sells decayed or adulterated food; the man who robs his own employes of the product of their toil and gives away the money in showy charity and stupendous foundations; the men who, through organizations, whether termed benevolent, commercial, employers' or what not, combine to coerce and browbeat other men in their effort to organize and obtain by concert of action a just length of work day, decent conditions and compensatory wages; the bankers and financiers who foster "watered" stocks and force employes of large industries to work for low wages because the earning power of the companies has been

absorbed in advance; and last, but by no means least, that large class of lickspittles who have little or nothing themselves, but side in with and work for bad conditions, because they get, or vaguely hope to get, a moiety of the general stealings.

Worst of All Reactionaries

The latter class is so large and their combined efforts so vitally assist in keeping alive social and industrial conditions, that they deserve to rank ahead of several of the divisions first named. They are the oft-dubbed "Little Brothers of the Rich"—usually visionless clerks, briefless lawyers and so-called "leaders of thought" who ought to be butlers.

Such men as form these various divisions are the voluntary offenders against economic justice and the laws of the land. They make a profit, or hope to, or help to through bad economics and violated laws.

But look at the other side of the economic ledger. There you will find the millions who are the victims of these profit-mongers and law-breakers,—the involuntary offenders. They are the thieves, harlots, the weak, the deficient, the men and women badly poised mentally through shameful environment and poor food, stretched over generations, the near-zeros of civilization; the maimed the crippled, the blind, the hereditary victims of disease and vicious habits, children of parents whose labor sapped them of the strength that should go to endow a future generation with a good brain and an adequate body; victims of drink who unavailingly have tried to snatch a few golden moments out of a gray world; children crippled in the streets and factories because organized society has not yet reached the plane where it adequately cares for its young; the survivors of war and the wretched victims of financial panics who have suffered because big moneyed men know that a money scare ever so often shatters values and makes it profitable to buy what others must sell to live.

I call all of this last named class involuntary offenders, because they drop naturally into that class through economic pressure and environment. Many of them are not truly involuntary victims, but there is that in their makeup and in the breeding they have had, that

causes them to sink rather than dash themselves again and again against the harsh line-up of forces which life has presented to them.

I do not believe that any one can study at first hand conditions as they exist today, and not thrill with the zeal of the proselyte in the cause of a better day. I believe that you can't reach a man's soul, any more than his heart, except through his stomach. It is positively shameful to hurl a "Thou shalt not steal" at a hungry or ragged human being.

Let us all dress and have dinner before we talk of morals.

An element in life that has far-reaching consequences is that we are apt to live merely by comparison. We take as a matter of course the crowded East Sides, the Hell's Half Acres, and the other strikingly named districts in our big cities. We see them from the time we are able to toddle until we die, without a proper emotion nor a sense—a gripping vital sense, that something is wrong. We regard them with the fearful complacency with which black death, diphtheria, smallpox and other dangerous diseases were regarded in by-gone days, as something inevitable and in accord with life.

Shorter Course Charted

In placing economic conditions before moral questions, I do not intend to belittle the wonderful work that has been done in the world to help the unfortunate and to place obstacles in the way of those who would profit through the prostitution of men and women by trafficking in their frailties. It is to the glory of our race that thousands of men and women have gone out of their way to take part in this task, as arduous and thankless as any person could essay. I am merely trying to point out that it is my belief that their objective is in much easier reach. I am trying to chart for them what I believe to be a shorter course to their haven. We know, as rational beings, that human misery, so universal as that caused by poor wages and viciously sinful hours of toil, is infinitely worse than the result of any individual's moral lapse or folly, degrading and vile though it may make the victim appear.

Napoleon said that an army marched

on its stomach. He might have said it with equal truth of the entire race of men. The poorly nourished are weak comrades in a war on rotten industrial conditions, adulterated foods, vice, wholesale murder, or any other of those countless evils that have an economic basis.

Some one has said there is more of the Christ spirit in the world today than ever before. The very aims that the honest battlers for the right under their different flags aspire to, show that there

is a mighty undercurrent,—a soul movement, if you will have it that way, that is making for better things.

Let us fight for all the good we may achieve—whether religious, economic, social, moral; but I believe that every sincere soul should line up with every other sincere soul in a fight to a finish to lift from the world the weight of agony caused by insufferable conditions resulting from *low wages, the crux of bad economics.*

CREDIT WHERE IT IS DUE.

No less than seventeen club committees co-operated to produce the Public Buildings and Grounds Exhibit, to be opened at the club house, Tuesday evening, March 2. Parts of the exhibition have been in preparation for over a year. The committees, through sub-committees or individuals appointed for the purpose, have performed an almost unprecedented mass of detail work, gathering photographs and maps, etc., and organizing, arranging, labeling and hanging them for the exhibition. The committees and individuals concerned were:

City Planning Exhibit on Central Government Buildings and Libraries and Museums: Herman von Holst.

Schools: William J. Bogan, Albert W. Evans, F. J. Lane, John W. Shepherd, H. E. Cobb, George H. Miller, D. P. MacMillan.

Streets, Alleys, and Bridges: J. R. Hall.

Harbors and Waterways: F. M. Bowes, E. W. Dakin, E. W. Ritter.

Water Front: Allen B. Pond.

Electric Light: Montague Ferry, C. C. Chandler, Department of Public Service: Mr. Mathency, Department of Electricity.

Water Supply: Henry W. Clausen.

Drainage and Sewerage: Herbert E. Hudson, L. K. Sherman.

Garbage Disposal: Fred G. Heuchling, Eugene F. Hiller.

Fire Protection: Guy L. Jones, Walter L. Edwards, Clarence S. Pellet.

Police Service: Philip N. Engel.

Penal Institutions: F. Emory Lyon.

Juvenile Protection: C. C. Schiller, J. E. Ransom, E. G. Fassett.

Public Health: Dr. A. L. Hoyne.

Charities: H. G. Spaulding, J. K. Brenton.

Parks and Playgrounds: J. P. Petrie, A. B. Yeomans.

Municipal Art (Exhibit on Public Statuary): A. E. Manheimer, Fred V. Cann, Irwin S. Rosenfels, G. R. Schaeffer.

Most of the public bodies and departments of the city have contributed valuable material and advice to the exhibition, but particular mention should be made of the Board of Education, South Park Commission, the West Chi-

cago Park Commissioners, Lincoln Park Commission, Special Park Commission, Independence Park Board, Sanitary District, the City Real Estate Agent, the City Departments of Public Service, Electricity, Fire, Police, and Health, the Board of Local Improvements, the City Architect, the Bureau of Engineering, the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

Much valuable assistance was also rendered by individuals, whom space will not permit to be mentioned.

The preparation of the exhibition was begun by Howard Woodhead, before his trip abroad last summer, and the final installation was directed by D. L. Akers, with the assistance of E. W. Lothrop.



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The City Club Bulletin

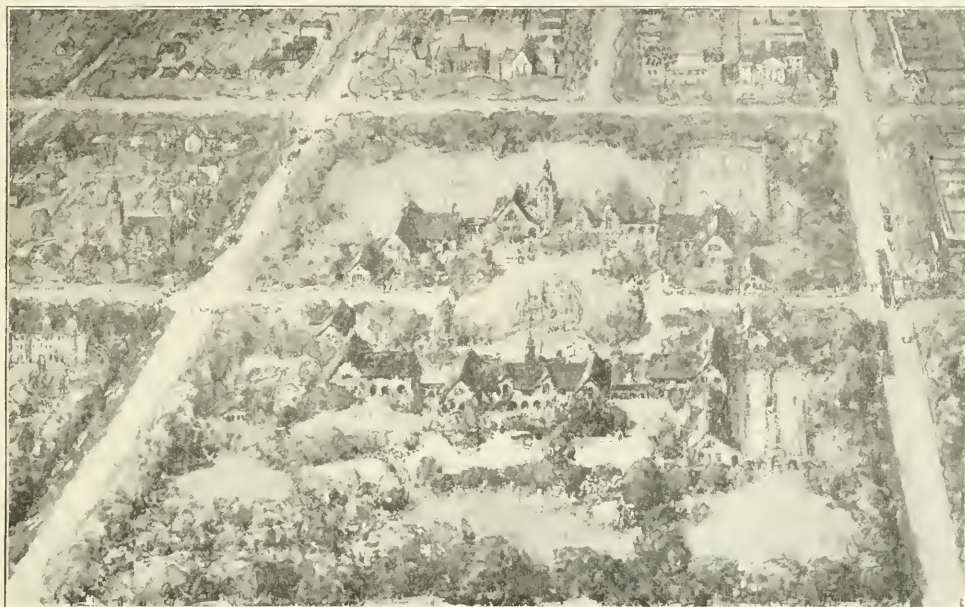
Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VIII

TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1915

NUMBER 4



Design for A Neighborhood Center.

By Jens Jensen, Landscape Architect, Chicago (Not in Competition).

The central group of buildings includes schools, gymnasiums, library, lecture rooms, hall for drama and music, art gallery, museum of arts and sciences, and public baths. Connected with these buildings are an outdoor gymnasium, an athletic field, swimming and wading pools and gardens. "Council Hill" is for outdoor assemblies, including the production of dramatic art. Other institutions around the center are young men's and young women's buildings, churches, lodge hall, fire and police stations and a municipal building and postoffice. Stores are also adjacent to the center and factories are within easy walking distance.

EXHIBIT OF The Public Properties of Chicago and Neighborhood Center Plans

City Club, March 2-April 15, 1915.

Open free to the public 2:30 to 9:00 p. m. daily, except Sunday.

THURSDAY LUNCHEON—DR. WILEY.

Thursday, March 25th. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, formerly Chief U. S. Bureau of Chemistry.

Subject: "Mouth Hygiene."

Luncheon from 11:30.

Speaking promptly at 1.

LADIES' NIGHT—HAMILTON HOLT.

Thursday, April 1, 8:00 P. M. Hamilton Holt, Editor "The Independent."

Subject: "The Federation of the World." Third in the series of special war talks.

75c table d'hôte dinner from 6:00 P. M.—Open to members and guests.

CLUB NOTES

One interpretation of the European war is that it is a conflict of different racial stocks for supremacy. Prof. William I. Thomas of the University of Chicago took issue with this idea in an address at the City Club, Thursday evening, March 11. There are, he said, in Europe no distinct races. Europe has been a great melting pot, and differences which exist are mainly those of language and environment, and are in no small degree the result of historical accident. The superiority of one culture over another, he said, does not prove a superiority of intellectual or emotional capacity. The backwardness of the Slav peasant is to be explained by his isolation rather than by an inferiority of mental powers. Prof. Thomas defined in his address some of the fundamental human instincts which are at the bottom of the war spirit—hate, fear, and group loyalty.

This address was the first of a series of evening lectures on topics suggested by the war. The second, Friday evening, March 20, was by Prof. J. Paul Goode on the "Geographic and Economic Influence Upon the War." The address was illustrated.

On April 1, Hamilton Holt, Editor of "The Independent," will speak on "The Federation of the World." Other meetings arranged, but for which no dates have been set, are:

"The Relation of the War Spirit to Virility in Government, Industry and Commerce," Walter E. Weyl, Ph. D., Associate Editor "The New Republic," New York.

"The European War From the Standpoint of the European Masses," William English Walling, author "Socialism As It Is," and other works, Greenwich, Conn.

"The War and Economic Organization," Willard E. Hotchkiss, Dean of School of Commerce, Northwestern University.

Subject to Be Announced, Alvin S. Johnson, Professor of Political Economy, Cornell University.

Subject to Be Announced, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labor, Canada.

On each lecture evening a special table d'hôte dinner, price 75c, will be served from 6 o'clock in the main dining room—open to members and their guests. Speaking at 8 P. M.

The City Club exhibitions have attracted attention away from home as well as in Chicago. The Public Health exhibit, prepared by the Club, is being shown in large part at Joliet by the Central Council on Public Health, a body made up of delegates from a large number of civic societies, churches, lodges and other local organizations. E. W. Lothrop of the City Club, directed the installation.

A part of the Housing Exhibition has just been to the coast, where it was shown in connection with an exhibit at San Francisco, Oakland and other California cities by the State Immigration and Housing Commission.

Prof. Paja Radosavljevich, University of New York, spoke at the City Club, March 11, on "The Aspirations and Projects of the South Slavic Peoples." Prof. Radosavljevich was in Chicago attending the South Slavic Congress, held to promote the political unity and independence of these peoples. South Slavic nations, he said, since the fourteenth century, have been engaged in a perpetual struggle with the Turks, and they have also been the battleground of European diplomacy in the contest for commercial supremacy in the East. To this constant struggle is due their apparent lack of achievement in commerce, science and the arts. He cited many things, however, showing their capacity for such progress. The South Slavic peoples, he said, are strongly democratic; they are opposed to czarism and church domination and are for the establishment of a republic.

George S. Jackson, a member of the City Club, is in charge of the office of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium at Liege.

Members of the City Club who remember the examples of government-aided housing shown in the Housing Exhibition last year may be interested in the 450-page report just issued by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on "Government Aid to Home Owning and Housing of Working People in Foreign Countries" (Bulletin No. 158).

"CHICAGO'S COMMUNITY ESTATE"

Public Properties Exhibition at the City Club

The public properties of the community are the tools and machinery of government. They provide education and recreation, they protect life, health and public morals, relieve poverty and distress, furnish some of the common necessities of life—such as water and light—afford means of communication and traffic and minister in many ways to the comfort and well-being of citizens. If they are inadequate to their task the community pays in higher taxes or reduced service.

The City Club has on display an entirely new sort of exhibition. Until now, no American community has ever had a graphic survey of its public estate.

Many people have asked, "What is the purpose of the exhibition?" That may perhaps be answered best by citing some facts from the exhibition itself. Not many people know that thirty per cent of the city's area is devoted to public uses. Or that the value of this huge estate approximates \$200,000,000—not counting, of course, streets and waterways. The exhibition endeavors to present a picture of these properties, their extent, and the variety and importance of their uses, and in this way to stimulate an interest in the improvement and development of the community's physical equipment.

The compiling of the exhibition required, as stated in the last Bulletin, the co-operation of seventeen civic committees, some of which worked for over a year, and of a large number of public bodies and departments of the city. It contains over 700 items, including 540 photographs and 21 original maps. The material shown probably represents less than two-thirds of that actually gathered.

The central and most unique feature of the exhibition is the big map on the fifth floor showing in colors and at scale all publicly owned land within the city limits. Nine hundred and seventy parcels of property are indicated on this map, aggregating 8.94 square miles. The park lands are the largest, and, strangely, the areas unused or held for investment—belonging mainly to the Board of Education and the Sanitary District—are second with over a thousand acres. Streets and waterways are of course not included in this computation.

It is of course impossible in a brief survey to mention more than a few

of the principal features of the exhibition. Near the big map is the exhibit showing the central government buildings and the libraries and museums. On the stairway, above the fifth floor, is the streets exhibit. Streets—the most extensive of the public properties of Chicago—cover 42.8 square miles, 22 per cent of the total area of the city. The streets exhibit shows them as a great transcontinental highway 2,991 miles long reaching from San Francisco, Cal., to Augusta, Me.

A feature of the waterways exhibit is a series of 16 photos showing all stages in the construction of the new \$4,000,000 municipal pier at the mouth of the Chicago River.

The electric lighting exhibit contains samples of actual street lamps used in Chicago. A chart shows that the cost of street lighting in Chicago per mile of street—due largely, of course, to the use of Sanitary District current—is only 1/4 to 1/5 of that of New York, Boston or Philadelphia. The testing stations of the Department of Public Service are also illustrated in this section.

In the water supply exhibit, there is a drawing, supplemented by photographs, representing the water distributing system of the city. This shows how the water is brought from the crib, through tunnels, pumping stations and mains to the faucet. Another interesting chart shows the amount of water waste in Chicago.

A map of city fire stations located with reference to fire-hazard areas and the city fire limits is a central feature of the protection exhibit. There are also photographs of best and worst types of Chicago stations and of types in other cities, illustrations of modern fire-fighting equipment and some cartoons showing the growth of the department.

The police stations are the dark spot in the exhibit. Damp, dirty and overcrowded, breeding places of vermin, most of these institutions provide thoroughly inhuman conditions of life for officers and prisoners who occupy them.

The County Jail pictures in the exhibit on penal agencies shows an institution hardly better in some respects than the police stations—worse in the fact that prisoners are sometimes confined there for long periods. The House of Correction, on the other hand, has in its new cell house an example of the most modern type of prison architecture, all cells having direct access to outside light and air. The John Worthy School, soon to be replaced by a new institution at Gage Farm, is illustrated in the exhibit on juvenile institutions. The section on charities illustrates the municipal lodging house and the Oak Forest institutions, and there is an extensive exhibit on the public hospitals of the city—featuring the new Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

The exhibits on schools and on parks, playgrounds and beaches, are an especially artistic character. They are made up mainly of framed photographs taken last summer and enlarged by Mr. Henry Fuerman under supervision of the committees concerned.

No more striking evolution is shown in the entire exhibition than that of the Chicago school buildings. The typical elementary school of the '60s, of which photographs and floor plans are shown in the schools exhibit, was merely an aggregation of class rooms. The school of today with its recreation facilities, its assembly hall, its manual training and domestic science equipment, is an index of how far our educational ideals have progressed. A similar evolution appears in the high school—the modern emphasis on vocational training being especially evident in the high school pictures. There is also in this department a beautiful architectural exhibit of St. Louis schools, the work of Mr. William B. Ittner.

Undoubtedly the most unique public institutions of Chicago are its community field houses in the public playgrounds, with their indoor and outdoor recreation facilities, their assembly rooms for lec-

tures, dancing, etc., their libraries, club rooms and other features. They owe their origin to Chicago and no other city has carried them so far. These and other park properties are illustrated by the beautiful exhibit extending from the fourth to the second mezzanine floor.

Some time ago the Municipal Art Committee of the Club recommended to the trustees of the Ferguson Fund, established to provide public statuary for Chicago, that instead of spending the income from the fund on a few imposing pieces of statuary located in the parks or boulevards—already well provided—small pieces be located in the playgrounds or at street intersections in crowded neighborhoods. This idea is carried out in the exhibit of public statuary by a large spot map showing the distribution of population and with reference to it, by colored pins, the location of public statuary—almost entirely in the large parks or on the boulevards.

The exhibit ought to arouse an interest in more attractive public buildings. Beautiful public architecture has a real civic influence and our police and fire stations, our pumping stations and the like—as well as the schools—should be made as attractive as possible.

The exhibit suggests some very practical considerations in reference to the public properties of the city. The management of a \$200,000,000 estate requires close economy. Only 45 per cent of the water pumped by the city produces revenue—50 per cent is wasted. To cite another example it cost \$4,556 per bed to build the new County Hospital, only \$1,900 per bed to build the new Psychopathic Hospital adjoining it and only \$2,400 per bed to build the finely equipped Tuberculosis Sanitarium just dedicated. Good business management of the public estate would eliminate many elements of waste.

The exhibit raises a number of other practical questions of public policy which ought to be given careful study, among them, the methods of land acquisition, the distribution of public buildings in reference to population and the co-operation of the different local governing bodies in the administration and development of the public estate.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMPETITION

Two women won first honors in the City Club's Neighborhood Center competition, the results of which were announced March 5th. Miss Anna Pendleton Schenck and Miss Marcia Mead of New York, architects, were given the award.

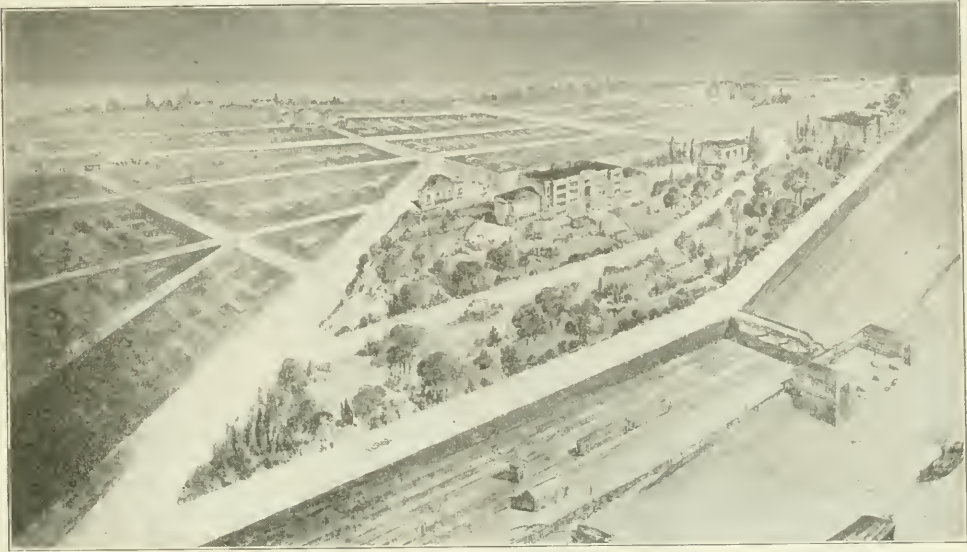
The competition was inaugurated by the Club, June, 1914, to secure plans for a neighborhood center. The purpose was to develop ideas and general prin-

to participate in the final competition. Six hundred dollars, offered by Mr. Alfred L. Baker, was by the terms of the program to be divided equally among the authors of the best eight plans. First, second and third honors were awarded by the jury as follows:

First honors: Anna Pendleton Schenck and Marcia Mead, architects, New York.

Second honors: Louis Guensel and William Drummond, architects, Chicago.

Third honors (divided): Prof. Joseph Hud-



Design for A Neighborhood Center.

By ANNA PENDLETON SCHENCK AND MARCIA MEAD, ARCHITECTS, NEW YORK.

Awarded first honor in the City Club's Neighborhood Center Competition.

The neighborhood for which this center is designed is located on the Harlem River in the Bronx, New York. The high school is the dominating feature in the scheme. Other institutions grouped at or related to the center are grade schools, library, play-grounds and athletic field, club building, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., churches, moving picture theater, amphitheater for open air spectacles, restaurant, market square, shops and office buildings, bank, postoffice, hospital, day nursery and police and fire stations.

ciples, so the widest latitude was given the competitors and no restriction was made as to the location of the center. It was the belief of those responsible for the competition that the grouping of neighborhood public and semi-public institutions at a common center would tend to stimulate neighborhood pride and activity, to reduce the social isolation of the family, and to restore in part the neighborhood life which has so largely vanished from our big cities.

A preliminary competition, which closed November 9, brought out twenty plans and of these the jury selected ten

nut, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala.; Carl Berg, civil engineer, Chicago.

Others participating in the cash award were:

George A. Damon, dean of engineering, Throop College of Technology, Pasadena, Cal.

Bremer W. Pond and Elbert Peets, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

E. Post Tooker and Reginald E. Marsh, architects and landscape engineers, New York.

George W. Jacoby, architect, New York.

The jury was composed of Professor George H. Mead, chairman; Miss Mary McDowell, Robert C. Spencer, Irving K. Pond and Howard Shaw. Charles Mul-

ford Robinson was a consulting member.

Three plans by Jens Jensen, Dwight H. Perkins and Wilhelm Bernhard, respectively, were submitted outside the competition as a general contribution to the subject.

The honor plans and those contributed outside the competition were explained by their authors at the City Club Friday night, March 5. They are now on display on the first and second floors of the club-house.

NOTES FROM THE PUBLIC PROPERTIES CONFERENCES

To secure a more intensive use of its school plant, the city of Gary has put into effect a new and radical idea in school methods. Prof. William A. Wirt, Superintendent of Schools of Gary, who devised this new system, was one of the speakers at the City Club, Wednesday night, March 3rd, when "The Modern School" was discussed. Although notorious conditions of overcrowding prevail, our school facilities, according to Prof. Wirt, are under-used. The class rooms are occupied for a certain number of hours each day and during these periods the special facilities, auditoriums, playgrounds and the like are idle.

Under the Gary scheme of organization the day is somewhat lengthened and each school is divided into two units, one of which for certain periods occupies the class-rooms while the other is doing special work in the laboratories or the manual training and domestic science rooms, or using the auditorium, gymnasium and recreation grounds. By this alternating use of facilities, the same number of class rooms is made to do a greatly increased amount of work and opportunity is given for special training not possible under the old curriculum. Since, to cite a single instance, the playground is used continuously and by smaller groups, employment of a special playground teacher becomes justified.

During the hours for the specialized activities, there is an opportunity for outside work, equivalent to school training. For instance, some of the churches provide religious teaching, home instruction in drawing or music may be given, or perhaps the child may be needed for home duties which have educational value. The school is thus made a center for stimulating and organizing all the neighborhood activities pertaining to the child.

Prof. Wirt has been employed by New

York City to demonstrate the applicability of his system to the New York schools.

Modern education recognizes that the child requires activity and a variety of employment in school, according to Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, who spoke on "Chicago's Public Training Equipment" at the City Club, March 3. The old-style class-room, in which for a certain number of hours each day the child is held in a certain fixed environment, seated in a stereotyped position, with his eyes fixed to a book, she condemned as prejudicial to the child. The modern school provides recreation, moves the child from room to room and furnishes him a variety of occupations.

The big map on the fifth floor of the property in Chicago is devoted. One of the most important of these is "Conservation," which includes all those uses which contribute to public health and safety and the relief of distress. These "conservation" properties were the subject of a noon discussion at the Club Thursday, March 4.

John C. McDonnell, Chief of the Fire Prevention Bureau, urged the approval of the bond issue of \$663,000 for new fire stations to be voted on April 6. Some of the old stations, he said, are unfit for human habitation, not only unsanitary but unsafe structurally.

Chicago's police stations, illustrated by slides, were described by Miss Harriet Vittum, of the Woman's City Club. Miss Vittum told about the filthy basement cells, dark, unventilated and vermin-ridden, in which prisoners—many of them innocent—are confined. The officers, too, she said, are subjected to the most unwholesome conditions of life in these stations. Miss Vittum urged that the police bond issue for new stations be approved.

THE CITY'S LAND POLICY

Alderman Charles E. Merriam discussed the city's land policy in an address at the opening of Public Properties Exhibition at the City Club, March 2. "The city's policy with regard to the acquisition of lands is," he said, "on the whole, rather expensive. We buy the land generally through condemnation, which is likely to be a costly process. We have no power of excess condemnation and so are not in a position to widen streets or acquire new areas on anything like a liberal scale without incurring very serious financial penalties.

"In the State of Washington an interesting attempt was recently made to anticipate the growth of the city and its playgrounds. A bill was introduced in the Legislature providing that no tract of land of ten acres or more could be recorded, when subdivided, unless one-tenth of the area was dedicated to the public as a park, playground or common. That bill, however, did not pass the Washington Legislature. Very high legal authority has held that such a law would be constitutional. If such a provision had been made in Chicago years ago, you would now have had large areas reserved for playground purposes without any very heavy cost to the community.

"What happens now, is, on the contrary, that when we locate a school or playground the site which we purchase is overvalued in comparison with the surrounding territory. Of course, the improvement increases land values so much that the surrounding property owners could afford to give the site for nothing, but, instead of that, there are condemnation proceedings, and even if they are honestly carried out—more so if dishonestly carried out—the chances are that the city pays more than anybody else would have to pay for the property.

"It has been the city's policy within the last few years, generally speaking, not to sell anything it has. The land is held in expectation that there may be some future demand for it. It may be needed for a small park or playground, for a fire station or some other practical use. The wisdom of the policy has al-

ready been demonstrated in a good many cases. Land for which two or three years ago a use could not be found has been discovered to be a useful property. With the increasing demand for land, we know that we will lose no money by holding it.

"As the population of Chicago grows, as the number of public lands increase and the value of buildings and improvements goes up, it will be an increasing problem to deal with all these properties without some central method of control, without a consolidated, unified, simplified form of city government. If for no other reason, the financial administration of an estate of a quarter of a billion dollars will in the long run drive us to that."

Alderman Merriam outlined the extent and uses of the public domain of Chicago and pointed out several directions in which, within the next few years, it ought to be extended. He referred also to the city's efforts to reclaim large amounts of public land overlooked by the city and "stolen or otherwise appropriated" by private interests.

In closing he referred to the Public Properties Exhibit as follows: "When we consider the extent of the public domain and the variety of uses to which it is put; when we consider the great financial and social importance of all these properties, we are led to see, I think, the value of this kind of an exhibit. It is an attempt to portray the bare physical facts with regard to the public property owned by the people of Chicago. We are led to consider the desirability of formulating a wise and far-seeing policy, not only for the control of properties we now have, but for the acquisition and addition of new properties to meet the growing needs of the community. It becomes clear that there must be an honest and economic policy of dealing with these lands, and certainly it becomes more and more evident that Chicago must work out a social policy and program that will adequately care for its existing domain and add to its domain as the social needs challenge us in the future."

BEAUTY AND PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE

Ralph Adams Cram of Boston spoke at the meeting of March 2, in connection with the public properties exhibit, of the necessity for beauty in public building.

"In developing our great material resources," he said, "we have not succeeded in producing beauty, we have not succeeded even in escaping ugliness, and ugliness of a degree that is not matched at any time or any place in the history of the world." Beauty he described as a mold of character, a decency of life, and even a financial asset to a city.

Continuing his thought in an address on school architecture the following night, he said:

"Beauty seems to me one of the most important things that we can give our attention to at the present time in connection with our school buildings. When I speak about beauty in the schools, I do not mean simply photographs of beautiful pictures and casts; I mean that beauty should be a part of the building itself, and, so far as possible of the system of education. Education is, of course, character development, and in the development of character beauty enters far more than we have been willing, I think, to admit.

"In building schools I have found myself in contact with a very elaborate and minutely developed scheme of standardization, which specified the exact dimensions of each room, the placing of the windows, the height of the sills above the floor, the distance of the window tops from the ceiling, and the very smallest details of construction. The principles were so elaborate that I wondered just what the architect had to do except to play with them as he would with a picture puzzle, and then collect his commission on the result. The result of this has, in many cases, been very disappointing. You may get perfect ventilation—although when I have been permitted to build more or less after my own fashion I have had good results by simply using common sense—but you are sure at the same time to get something else, and that is, excessive ugliness. I have never seen a school room built on

'scientific principles' that was not really an ugly room. You cannot make it beautiful by hanging brown photographs on the walls or by putting up a few casts for the children to look at.

"There are certain dogmas that I am prepared to maintain, even to persecution, and one of those is that ugly streets make ugly lives, that bad tenements make bad citizens. We have a wonderful opportunity to give to children that cultural influence of beauty which is not simply an amenity of life, but a necessary part of all sane and wholesome human living. I am not prepared to say how this is to be accomplished. I know that it is for me, as an architect, to fight strenuously for all the beauty that I can get into the school building. But the public itself must realize the necessity of giving back to the children those influences which have been stolen from them by—in many ways—a misguided type of civilization, and to bring all the power they have, individually and as a body, to bear on the authorities who have the determination of these matters."

Seven of the twelve propositions to be voted on at the April election are for bond issues—aggregating almost four million dollars—for additions or improvements to the public properties of the city. The purposes for which these bonds are to be proposed to be issued are:

1. Completing Municipal Contagious Diseases Hospital	\$ 500,000
2. Dormitory, John Worthy School.	60,000
3. House of Shelter for Women and Farm Colony, House of Correction	250,000
4. Completing Municipal Garbage Plant	700,000
5. Bathing Beaches, Playgrounds and Neighborhood Centers.....	600,000
6. Fire Stations.....	663,000
7. Police Stations.....	1,199,000

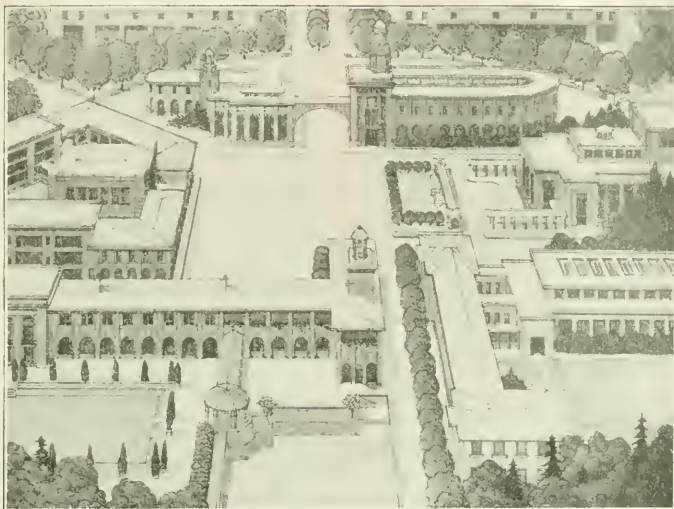
Of the other five propositions four are for the annexation respectively of Clearing, Blue Island, Elmwood Park and about 14 acres north of Norwood Park and the other is for the double platoon system for the fire department.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The breaking up of the small neighborhood groups in our big cities has been necessary to secure the larger association and the broadening of ideas which the urban community makes possible. Under these conditions, however, it seems impossible to set up those immediate social relations which are necessary to a definite group consciousness. We work in places remote from our homes; we find our associates in still other parts of the city. The problem is

hood center should gather about the child and the adolescent life. The school should be the focal point, for the interests of all the family will center there. In the second place, we should have means of recreation—recreation in the broadest sense—and in this, adults as well as children, should be able to participate.

"There should also be some representation of the central government at such a central point. In every commu-



DESIGN FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER.

By Wilhelm Bernhard, Chicago. (Not in Competition.)

(An elaboration of the design for a neighborhood center in Mr. Bernhard's first prize plan for the development of a quarter-section of land, City Club competition, 1913.)

The institutions belonging to the neighborhood center are grouped around a square and consist of schools, a municipal building, postoffice, telephone, telegraph, messenger and express offices, police and fire stations, gymnasium, athletic ground and bathhouse, auditorium for lectures, concerts and dances, library, men's and women's clubs, lodge halls, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., theater for professionals and amateurs, moving picture theater, stores and shops, hotel, cafe, market and bank.

to bring back, in some sense, this larger sociability to the smaller groups. So Prof. George H. Mead summed up the neighborhood center idea at the meeting Friday evening, March 5, when the neighborhood center plans were explained by their authors. Prof. Mead was chairman of the jury which made the awards.

Prof. Mead spoke as follows as regards the organization of the neighborhood center:

"Two points seem to me pretty definitely settled. One is that the neighbor-

hood there is a need for certain, immediate contact with the government. Provision might be made in the center so that it would be possible for those who have complaints or inquiries to make to come in direct touch with the City Hall or its representatives. If we start to formulate a center such as that, it is only natural to add the forum, using the City Hall auditorium as the center of the political life of the neighborhood, bringing the political life right home to the people."

THE CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOOD

Two of the six meetings held the week of March 1, in connection with the exhibit of public properties and of neighborhood center plans, dealt with the activities of local communities in Chicago and the need for neighborhood centers. These two meetings, both on March 6, enlisted twenty-two speakers. Some of the main points of the discussion are brought out in the following paragraphs:

"Chicago is in no sense one community and its salvation is its units. There are hundreds of small areas, with more or less identical interests, within the city limits, and the development of a civic consciousness will come perhaps through them and not from a reform wave radiating from the loop.

This year the directors of the South Side small parks have been organizing their neighborhoods and endeavoring to establish a working plan to get local participation in performing community service. Four parks have secured and others are in process of forming neighborhood advisory councils."—J. R. RICHARDS, *Superintendent of Playgrounds and Sports, South Park Commissioners.*

"The neighborhood groups which center at the social settlements gather around the personality of some individual. While we are think of the beautiful new neighborhood center buildings which are proposed, we should give a great deal of thought to the human personality that is going into them—for this is dynamic force which holds groups of people together."—MRS. HARRIET M. VAN DER VAART, *Neighborhood House.*

"The public playgrounds are a good beginning for neighborhood centers. Each of our parks has been developed to meet the requirements of social life in a particular district. In Dvorak Park, in a Bohemian neighborhood, is the largest orchestra and chorus in any of the parks. In both Eckhart and Stanford Parks are a large number of local organizations—159 different organizations met in Stanford Park in one year. The proposed park consolidation bill will aid the development of neighborhood centers by making possible the location of government buildings—postoffices, etc.—in the recreation centers."—FRED G. HEUCHLING, *Superintendent of Employment, West Chicago Park Commissioners.*

"Two years ago a group of Seventh Ward neighbors, who had just emerged from an aldermanic campaign, saw how easily the community might have failed in its quest for an efficient public servant simply from lack of means of communication and of reliable sources of information concerning the neighborhood's public business. So a civic forum was organized, with monthly meetings open to the public, at which public questions are discussed by experts, reports received from the alderman, and suggestions, comments or complaints made from the floor. We look confidently forward to the time when the Seventh Ward shall have both a civic center and a civic consciousness to put into it."—MRS. J. PAUL GOODE, *Seventh Ward Civic Forum.*

"We are living in an age when society is organized on a national or an international instead of a geographic basis. We come in contact with one set of people in our business relations, with another set of people in our professional relations, and we go to church with still another set of people. We have a whole series of different sorts of relationships, partly social and partly something else. The great problem is to work out some kind of an agreement whereby we can enjoy the larger association which comes to us from living in a complex age, and at the same time perfect these simple social, family and neighborhood functions."—WILLARD E. HOTCHKISS.

"There seems to be a tendency now toward a revival of those local zones of community interest which mean so much for civic progress, for good fellowship, neighborly kindness and the development of those social instincts which make life worth living in a large community. In furnishing a common source of inspiration and a rallying point, the public libraries serve as a strong local cohesive force."—HENRY E. LEGLER, *Chicago Public Library.*

"Physiology, civics, drawing and wood-working and Bohemian classes all co-operated to make a school exhibit of its neighborhood health that formed a central feature in the recent Harrison Technical High School Public Health Exhibition that drew 33,000 people in the ten days it was open. Many groups of picked boys and girls, with the aid of principal and teachers, got statistics and information downtown and at home about their neighborhood, enlarged maps, made diagrams, photographed institutions and lettered and mounted the panels, or served as guides and interpreters, ushers, and in features of the evening program, thus helping the school educate the surrounding community on its own public health conditions.—EDWARD L. BURCHARD, *Secretary, Civics Extension Committee.*

"In the Lincoln Park system we have five small parks, only one of which, however—Hanlin Park—has all the facilities of the South Side type. Besides recreation, the park buildings are used for the various activities of organizations, like the Civic Music Association, the Infant Welfare Society, the Y. M. C. A., and Woman's City Club."—CHARLES E. SUITER, *Director of Playgrounds, Lincoln Park System.*

"In the foreign communities of the city there are organizations following all lines of activity—some religious, some civic, some fraternal, some not definitely classed. The great difficulty is that these local organizations are isolated from the groups which are interested in solving the larger city problems which affect the neighborhood."—MISS GRACE ABBOTT, *Immigrants' Protective League.*

"It is a mistaken idea that the foreign born are so clannish and disorganized that they could not appreciate and use the opportunities of a neighborhood center. If there be any clannishness it is to be charged to the lack of civic centers, where the various nationalities could meet on equal footing. It is plain that a neighborhood center can be made the greatest Americanizing influence yet known."—JAROSLAV J. ZMRHAL, *Principal, Herzl School.*

"A few years ago some residents of Rogers Park, realizing the rapid transformation of this suburban locality into one of the urban units of Greater Chicago, organized the Rogers Park Town Planning Association, with the idea that an orderly plan might be of value. Various park and other improvements have been planned by the association, and two neighborhood centers have been proposed. We are striving to impress upon the map of Greater Chicago some of the historic features of Rogers Park and keep for the future some of the spirit and community interest which has made Rogers Park one of the beautiful and desirable home communities of Chicago."—HERBERT E. HUDSON, *Rogers Park Town Planning Association.*

"Every neighborhood trading center should be co-related with every other center, so that every merchant may be able to cater to patronage at a distance. We must take heed first of all to the transportation question, for only in the degree of the transportation which it enjoys will local trade prosper."—TOMAZ DEUTHER, *Greater Chicago Federation.*

"I am wondering if we really appreciate the fact that we have in Chicago in our small parks the finest neighborhood centers in the whole wide world. We ought to develop these to the very fullest extent, so that the larger dream may be brought to pass."—ARCHIBALD T. CAMPBELL, *Former Director, Palmer Park.*

"In the afternoons and evenings for the past three years the Armstrong Neighborhood Association has conducted in the Armstrong Public School Social Center its own business meetings, classes of all kinds, parties, dances, banquets, concerts, carnivals, festivals, church service, welfare exhibits, library reading room, political meetings—non-partisan and *partisan*—registration of voters, polling of votes, club meetings of women, children and men, separately and together. The Association is proposing to raise funds to continue these activities by moving picture entertainments in the school."—MISS AZILE REYNOLDS, *Armstrong School.*

"The Civic Music Association, last season, gave forty-seven concerts to audiences numbering 23,000. Our dream is to develop through these concerts the talent that is slumbering in many of the people for want of some stimulus to awaken it. We want to organize these people into choruses and orchestras and to help them express themselves."—MRS. FANNIE BLOOMFIELD ZEISLER.

"Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the development of the musical genius of the people. Each of Chicago's eighteen field houses should eventually become a musical center, where the community may hear the best music and find an opportunity to participate and produce its own music."—MISS FRANCES BRUNDAGE, *Civic Music Association*.

"A community may possess brilliant individual musicians or evince a high quality of musical appreciation and still not be a musical community. A more accurate measure would take into account constructive capacity. The neighborhood chorus furnishes a ready means for giving expression to the collective voice of the community. The larger the chorus, the larger the group of individuals who act as radiating centers of cultural enjoyment."—ROSSETER COLE, *People's Chorus, Sherman Park*.

"If art is to be a part of the community movement it must be the expression of the people. I think if we could have a neighborhood exposition of all the lovely things in the homes of the people in various sections of the city, we would be astonished at the real art treasures to be found there."—MISS EMMA CHURCH, *Chicago School of Applied Art*.

"Granted a Neighborhood Center with its neighborhood theater, pageant grounds and motion picture house, all under community direction, managed and supported by the people as a whole, not as individuals, and you have solved the problem of the danger in our leisure hours. The Neighborhood Center theater, co-operating with other centers, directed and controlled by the neighborhood and supported as its own expression, will be an asset to the community, not only on its moral and social side, but financially as well."—MRS. A. STARR BEST, *National Drama League*.

"Within definitely prescribed limits, neighborhood improvement associations have been formed all over Chicago—combinations of men and women to perform work left undone or partially done by the various city departments. They reach from Park Manor to Ravenswood, upwards of 100 in number, mainly on the North and South Sides. They clean streets, clear and maintain parkways and vacant lots, remove waste, are concerned in the paving and care of streets and alleys, in the planting of trees and shrubs, and other neighborhood improvements."—THOMAS W. ALLINSON, *Henry Booth House*.

"For the large city a certain measure of decentralization is necessary. There should be encouragement to local communities within the great city to function as neighborhoods. Provision should be made for local improvement districts, which should follow, as far as possible, natural neighborhood community lines, with some sort of local improvement boards working under control of the central government."—GEORGE C. SIKES.

"In my opinion the solution of overcrowding in our large cities is going to be the development of local centers—not merely centers of social life, but of industry. The development of such centers, allowing the workers to live in reasonably close connection with the establishments in which they are employed, will go far toward reducing the need for transportation facilities. In order to determine the location of industrial centers, Chicago must begin by controlling transportation, including the railway terminals."—JOHN C. KENNEDY.

"The revival of the town meeting in its new neighborhood form is a rediscovery of the early American democracy. Both the city and the neighborhood suffer from detachment. The neighborhood comes to its own only by being conscious of and taking its part in the whole city's life. The city fulfills its high function only as its people rise above divisive partisanship and sectionalism and co-operate with each other and with their town as a federation of neighborhoods."—PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR.

ENGLAND IN WARTIME

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, of London University, Honorary Secretary of the British Sociological Society, spoke at the City Club, March 13, on "England in War Time." Prof. F. D. Bramhall presided.

Mr. Ratcliffe did not speak of the responsibilities for the war or its origins but discussed some of the important war measures undertaken by the English Government during the seven months since the war began.

Mr. Ratcliffe

"As you know," he said, "the government took a series of very bold measures for handling the crisis; measures not only concerned with governmental policy, properly so called, but with the reorganization and the mobilization of the national resources. Most of us had believed that, as soon as a great war came upon Europe, the wonderful and complex structure of credit would collapse. That prophecy was signally falsified. National and international credit did not break down. The government proclaimed a moratorium. I am told that this caused considerable misgiving in political and financial circles in New York and I doubt if even in England anybody but a small number of experts knew what it meant. When the government added to the moratorium itself the guarantee of pre-moratorium bills of exchange, we recognized the lengths to which it was prepared to go in safeguarding the commercial interests.

"Another step was to put the railway system under the control of an executive committee appointed by the government. Government control lasted, however, so short a time that, so far, it has furnished only a very slight lesson as to the possibilities of railway nationalization.

"During the last few days, in order to maintain the maximum rate of production, the government announced that it is taking over the control of the whole engineering industry. As you know, we are manufacturing not only for ourselves, for the army of England, but for our Allies as well. We are again, as in the days of the Napoleonic war, the great manufactory for more than half of

Europe. The government's control of the engineering industry means, I think, quite clearly that the administration is prepared to deal in a very immediate way with labor unrest. In ordinary times cabinet ministers of Lloyd-George's rank and character are inclined to show a little more sympathy with the men's cause than with that of the employers, but Lloyd-George in his latest speech has told the men plainly that it was a matter of the gravest concern that industrial unrest should not appear at this crisis.

"Since the beginning of January, prices of foodstuffs have been rising at a most alarming rate. An official statement, published by the Board of Trade, says that prices for the necessities of life have gone up, on the average, since last September about 35 per cent. The government, however, has done nothing in regulating food supplies and the prices of the necessities of life. One article, indeed, the government decided to take over and control—sugar. It fixed the price of sugar and bought at one stroke ninety million dollars' worth.

"The question of unemployment was dealt with. A committee of the cabinet was formed, aided by experts of various kinds, for the prevention of unemployment. This advisory committee supplied the government, day by day, with the facts of unemployment, the state of labor, the call for work, and prices. I believe that this part of the work was done exceedingly well from the start. I do not, however, think the actual organization of the resources of the nation against unemployment was done quite so well. In dealing with these problems, there is evident a very interesting difference of opinion between those who believe that it is necessary only to deal with immediate necessity and those who believe that public and private funds should be used boldly and for constructive ends.

"There has been no great disturbances of industry, no such amount of unemployment as most of us feared would be the case. Many firms, large and small, were in a panic in the early stages

of the war and were disposed to get rid of the workers on quite a large scale. But the situation began to right itself and before autumn was over, it was clear that the great industries would be able to use almost the whole labor supply—with the exception, perhaps, of the Lancashire cotton industry, which is still suffering. There is less unemployment in England today than for a long time past.

"I have said that I did not think that the organization of public relief and organization against unemployment was done quite so ably as some other things. For example, we handled the expeditionary forces with an ability and efficiency which startled the world. The mobilization and transportation of the army was done in secret, rapidly and without a single mishap. In the task of civil organization, on the other hand, we passed through a period of muddle, distressing to witness.

"The greatest task which the administration has had, has been the creation of a new army. When the war came, we had a small professional army of between three and four hundred thousand men, and, in addition, the reserves and a territorial army built up for home defense. It is, I find, believed very widely in the United States, that we have failed in the task of creating a new army. The fact is that we have at this minute an entirely new army of not less than a million and half of men in addition to the regular army, and reserves of about a million.

"The army was not raised as quickly as the country really desired. In the first place, the machinery for recruiting and registration was of the most inadequate kind. That is one evidence, I think, of the fact that England did not prepare for and did not will the war. When the call went out for a fresh million of men, recruits came forward in enormous numbers and the machinery for registering them broke down. They were kept waiting day after day; they were sent home and told to come back; and when they were enrolled they were sent to camps which had not been properly provided for, they were not supplied with blankets or overcoats, and they began their new military life in an

autumn season under very trying weather conditions. Practically every blunder which could be made by the war office in the recruiting was actually committed.

"Then there was the very important question of the weekly allowance for the families of the soldiers in training and on the field. The old allowance was extremely meagre. Only after a sharp and serious agitation, did the government realize that men could not be drawn from the industrial army into the fighting army unless their wives and children were treated—not generously—but at least fairly. Now we have a fairly satisfactory scale. We pay the wives of the soldiers between three and four dollars a week—which, of course, will go much farther in the old country than it does here—for the first child the allowance is \$1.25 a week and for other children, sixty cents a week. Many thousands of soldiers' families are today better off as regards money than ever before, have actually a larger sum for the household budget than when the head of the family was at work. That is bound to have all kinds of social and economic results.

"For the last ten years there has been a great movement, led by Lord Roberts and a most influential section of our people, in favor of conscription for the army and navy. The new army has been recruited against the steady opposition, open and covert, of that very strong party, but for the time being, at least, we have beaten the conscriptionists.

"What has the war done for us? For the first time in our modern history, England has been made an absolutely united nation. We have been rather proud of the fact that our modern political history has been marked by free discussion on the part of dissenting minorities. There were, when the war broke out, large minorities of thinking people, who looked upon England's diplomatic policy with considerable misgiving and a tendency to criticize. But no sooner did the crisis come than these dissatisfied minorities were practically wiped out of business. The two-party system of governing the country no longer existed. Those parties which for years had been most energetic in denouncing

Lloyd-George and his colleagues now unite in hailing him as the ablest and most far-sighted man who has ever handled our national destinies.

"The new army is the most democratic institution which we have so far created. For the first time we have had an army representing the nation, for the rank and file are drawn from all classes. That is going to be one of the strongest influences towards the modification of our caste system. It is going to help us get a new social sense, a new sense of the community that will go a long way towards counteracting the incalculable cost of the war.

"One strong influence in the mind of the workingman in England who is still at home is bound to be this: He sees himself in the labor market, paid as an individual, without reference to his services to the community or the needs of his family. He sees the fighting men on the other hand paid, not as individuals, but in reference to the number of mouths to be fed. He is asking himself: Why should the government be content to pay the fighting man on the basis of the family unit, while I, who am giving equal service to the nation (since we cannot maintain the fighting force without the labor at home), am paid as a competitor in the labor market, without any reference to my social value or the condition of my family? This argument will create a new aspect of the labor problem, which we shall have to face in the immediate future.

"The question of the relationship of the sexes is exceedingly perplexing. In our country, more than two million men have been taken away from the normal activities of peace, from the restraints of home and of the neighborhood. You can understand how that is creating an absolutely new moral problem for our people.

"The war has led to a consideration of the liquor question. If the government had been as alive to the question seven months ago as it seems to be today, it could have done almost anything in the way of controlling the liquor interests, but in my opinion the psychological condition of the nation has changed, and there is likely to be more criticism than would have been met five

or six months ago. But I think the government will probably do something exceedingly valuable and constructive in that direction.

"England, during the last three or four months, has surrendered almost wholly her self-governing system. The government today is exercising authority over industries and the national life such as no government in modern England have ever exercised.

"Is it going to be possible for us, when the need of the political moment is over, to recover control of our own public life, or shall we, in order to go through with this struggle, be compelled to give to the government powers which we cannot take back? We must have faith in the recovering power of the democracy; we must have faith in the fundamental character of the British people.

"Another question: Are we going to abandon our voluntary military system? Will we, in order to overthrow an evil power, have to create a greater machine than the one we are destroying? In that case, in order to overthrow Prussianism, we will simply have created a super-Prussianism of our own. What we have got to keep clearly before us is the essential character of our national life and our institutions and to say to ourselves that, if we are to win this fight, it matters everything to ourselves and to the other democracies of the world *how* we win it.

"I feel that it is for the other democratic peoples of the world to assist the democracies of Europe in these times of strain to maintain the essential character of democratic civilization. The United States is neutral, and it must be neutral, but it cannot be unsympathetic with those who are fighting for democratic ideas. We hope that we shall not be false to the principles which we have always declared before the world. And, even so, it may be possible, after this immeasurable agony is over, that the loss will not have gone for nothing, because we have come out of it with a higher faith in the enduring character of democracy than we had before we were plunged into the conflict." (Applause.)

**RESOLUTION FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION FOR
ILLINOIS, ADOPTED MARCH 6, 1915, BY THE COM-
MITTEE OF THE CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO
ON STATE CONSTITUTION.**

WHEREAS, There is such an obvious necessity for changes in the present constitution of Illinois, adopted forty-four years ago, that the question being everywhere asked and discussed is not "Are changes needed?" but "How many?" and "Which first?"; and

WHEREAS, Experience has shown how entirely impossible it is to unite the advocates of constitutional change on any one of the many proposed amendments, and how fatal, to all constitutional changes, is the continual contention for the right of way, caused by the present "one-article-a-session" restriction; and

WHEREAS, The only two measures which lead directly toward the adoption of all of the many proposed amendments, and which, therefore, are the only measures on which all advocates of constitutional change ought to be able to unite, are a call for a constitutional convention, and an amendment to the amending clause; and

WHEREAS, Though as a matter of law, both these measures could be simultaneously adopted by the General Assembly and submitted to the people, yet, as a practical matter, the chance of either being adopted would be lessened by the presence of the other, because of the loss of concentration of effort and because of the failure of those voters, who had a preference for one method, to vote for the other also; and

WHEREAS, Of the two methods, that by constitutional convention is the speedier and more comprehensive, and, most important of all, involves no controversy as to form, while that by amendment to the amending clause is one as to the proper form of which there is the widest possible difference of opinion; and

WHEREAS, There is the further fact that more than two-thirds of the members of each House of the present General Assembly of Illinois have taken a position favorable to a resolution for a constitutional convention; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, By the Committee on State Constitution of the City Club of Chicago, after full discussion and consideration and after conferring with other civic committees of the club, that, in its judgment, all citizens of Illinois ought to unite to use their best efforts to secure the passage by the present General Assembly of a resolution for a constitutional convention, each seeking in that way primarily to secure whatever particular constitutional change he especially advocates;

BT IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That such resolution should contain, or be accompanied with, a recommendation to the constitutional convention to be called thereunder, to the effect that it follow the example of the recent Ohio convention and submit the result of its labors in the form of separate amendments to the present constitution, rather than in that of a complete new instrument; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the present General Assembly is hereby urged to promptly consider and adopt such a resolution, and each member thereof is hereby urged to do his best to secure that result; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That these resolutions be given to the press, and that copies thereof be sent, respectively, to the governor, to the lieutenant governor, and to each member of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois.

Chicago, March 9, 1915.

WILLIAM B. MOULTON,
Chairman City Club Committee on State Constitution.

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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
20 MAY 1915

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VIII

TUESDAY, MAY 18, 1915

NUMBER 5

TWO IMPORTANT MEETINGS

PLAY AND RECREATION IN CHICAGO

For continuity, it is hoped that those who can do so will come for both the following meetings. Reserve dinner seats in advance. Tickets, 75c.

Mayor Thompson will be the guest of the Club at dinner and will speak later.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 6 P. M., DINNER. Toastmaster, GEORGE H. MEAD.

"A Public Recreation System, for Chicago," paper from Edward B. DeGroot, School Board, San Francisco.

"Play and Recreation—and Home Interests," Allan Hoben.

"Play in the School Curriculum," Mrs. Amalie H. Jerome.

"The School as a Neighborhood Center," Miss Azile Reynolds, Principal Armstrong School.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 8 P. M. Chairman, FRANK I. MOULTON.

"The Size of Our Recreation Estate," Bernard A. Eckhart, formerly President West Chicago Park Commission.

"Practical Problems of Chicago's Park and Playground Systems," J. Frank Foster, Superintendent South Park Commission; A. C. Schrader, Superintendent West Chicago Park Commission; Edward A. Kanst, Superintendent Lincoln Park Commission.

"A Look Backward and Forward," Miss Mary MacDowell.

"The Future of the Special Park Commission," Alderman Eugene Block, Chairman.

"Recreation for the People," William Hale Thompson, Mayor of Chicago.

A special exhibit of Chicago's school, park and playground properties will be on view in the club house; also the drawings submitted in the City Club's recent competition for plans for neighborhood centers. These exhibits can be visited during a brief recess between the two meetings.

SYMPOSIUM AND DINNER—LADIES' NIGHT

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2, 1915, 6:00 P. M.

"What Is Human Progress?"

Speakers: John Dewey, Jacob H. Hollander, James Harvey Robinson.

Speaking begins at 6:00 o'clock sharp in the Lounge. Dinner will be served between 7:00 and 8:00 P. M. in the Club dining rooms.

Dinner tickets, \$1.00. Seats in the Lounge for the addresses will be reserved for all holders of dinner tickets. Seats cannot be guaranteed—and will probably not be available—unless so reserved.

Members may bring guests—men or women.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CITY CLUB

The annual meeting of the City Club was held Saturday, April 17th, 1915, at 1 P. M., President Allen B. Pond presiding. The president submitted his report for the year ending March 31, 1915.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Fellow-Members of the City Club:

I submit herewith a report on the activities of the Club during the preceding year and also for your consideration certain matters of Club concern, some of which involve questions of policy which should be settled in the near future.

MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Club, at the time when the project of erecting its own building was undertaken, was in the neighborhood of 850. The active work of an efficient committee, coupled with interest aroused in connection with the erection of the Club House, resulted in a strong spurt by which the membership was run up to approximately 2,500. The financial stress of the past year has compelled a large number of people to curtail sharply their outlay and has resulted in the withdrawal from the City Club of many persons who would otherwise undoubtedly have retained their membership. All the downtown clubs in Chicago have suffered in like manner. It is hoped that changed conditions will, within the next year or so, relieve this heavy financial strain. In the meantime it may be argued, without fear of successful challenge, that the City Club offers so much more in return for its annual due than does any other Club in the city that it should be the last club to be cut off for financial reasons—quite aside from any consideration of the exceeding great value of the Club's service to the community.

Three years' occupancy of the Club building has demonstrated that the Club can accommodate a membership of 3,000 and upwards; and such an increased membership will materially strengthen the Club's ability to serve its own members and the community. A Membership Extension Committee has, therefore been created and is doing admirable work along what seems to the Directors to be sound and effective lines.

CLUB OPERATION

With regard to the character of the Club life at which the City Club should aim, there are two divergent views; one that the Club should spend its entire energy on active civic work of a sort that may be presumed to interest public-spirited men and should seek to hold its membership by this means; the other, that the Club should recognize the fact that man is a social being, that it is impossible to separate sharply his civic from his social life, and that the Club should seek to cater to all sides of a man's nature so far as its means will permit, and to make of the Club a social force in the lives of its members, as well as a civic force. I frankly confess my sympathy with the latter view. It is my belief that human fellowship is and will continue to be a large factor in effective civic work, and that the City Club can with more certainty hold its membership in active sympathy with its civic undertakings, if it also seeks to build up among its membership

a human fellowship based upon social contact and the esprit which comes from such fellowship. I acknowledge, however, the great difficulty in determining in such a Club as the City Club how far this social side should be emphasized and the ways in which it may most successfully be emphasized. The financial handicap of the past year has rendered difficult the desired experimentation along this line. It is my hope, however, that more thought may in the future be paid to this aspect of the Club life, and that circumstances will permit of judicious experimentation in this direction. A start has been made in this direction recently by the designation of a member to act in a capacity which may be described as that of a social secretary with the function of organizing means by which new members may be introduced into the Club life and made acquainted with the existing membership. It is hoped that this action, coupled with the strengthening of the hands of the Entertainment Committee, will result in progress along this line during the coming year. The Board will welcome suggestions from the membership as to needs and desires of the Club in regard to other aspects of Club life.

The restaurant is being operated skillfully; the food furnished is wholesome; the prices are reasonable. There is something to be desired in the way of finished service and of delicacy, but progress along these lines seems to involve either higher prices or a larger margin of loss in restaurant operation. Neither of these expedients has seemed practicable this last year. It is hoped that in time the Club finances may be put in such shape that a greater loss may be safely and wisely incurred in the operation of the restaurant, with the resulting improvement of the service along the lines above referred to. It does not seem wise to raise the restaurant prices; a marked increase in the membership of the Club and in the average attendance will facilitate development in this direction.

It is very desirable that at the earliest practical time the Club should be in position to use for its own purposes its entire premises. The taking over for distinctively Club uses of the entire sixth story would admit of equipping a very much more adequate and attractive billiard room and game room and of inaugurating in the sixth story a quick and informal luncheon service which would both serve to attract members to the billiard room and which would also allow a greater latitude of choice to Club members who did not happen to be particularly interested in a luncheon talk in the main dining room. Obviously the luncheon talks are one of the most valuable functions of the Club as a civic forum, but, on the other hand, it must be presumed that the luncheon talks interfere from day to day with certain groups that are not interested in the particular theme under discussion. The provision of additional restaurant facilities along the lines above indicated will serve to obviate any discouragement of attendance at luncheon for such a reason.

The room now used as a billiard room, if set free from that need, will serve as a valuable conference room for use both afternoon and evening, both for groups connected with the Club membership and for outside groups having kindred interests. This latter use should serve to produce some income for the Club.

FINANCES

It has never been expected and should not be expected that the Club dues will wholly maintain the Public Work of the Club. The bonded and floating indebtedness of the Club will gradually be extinguished. Prior to the final extinguishment of the debt, the dues after having provided for the necessary operation of the Club as a Club, will provide in an increasing degree for the carrying on of the Club's Public Work. At the present time the entire Public Work of the Club is maintained by individual contribution over and above the Club dues. It is desirable, however, that the Club dues should, at the present time, provide for the entire operation of the Club as a Club, aside from the Public Work expenditure. In addition to providing for the operation of the Club itself, including the gradual improvement of the service, it is important that steps be taken at once to provide for the creation of a sinking fund to wipe out the bonded and floating indebtedness with which the Club entered upon the occupancy of the new building. It is also important that there be provided from the Club dues a suitable fund for re-equipment to meet the inevitable wearing out of present equipment.

It is an open question whether, even in addition to the active and successful work for increasing Club membership, it may not still be desirable to increase the dues slightly to assist in providing for the above objects. An increase in dues, which would be felt hardly if at all by a great majority of the members, would be of the greatest assistance in creating a sinking fund, providing for re-equipment, allowing of the suggested improvement in restaurant service and, perhaps, in addition, furnishing something toward expediting the desired change in bulletin which will be hereafter referred to.

CLUB STAFF

There are, at the present time, 61 employes on the regular staff of the Club, classified as follows:

<i>Office</i> (civic secretary, assistant civic secretaries, office manager, bookkeeper, stenographers, librarian, telephone operator, clerk, office boy)	11
<i>House</i> (manager, cashiers, engineers, door man, pages, billiard room employes, elevator and check-room boys, janitor, housemen and scrub women).....	19
<i>Kitchen</i> (Chef and assistant cooks, dish-washers, pantry and store-room employes)	16
<i>Dining Room</i> (head waiter, head waitress, checker, waiters—not counting extra help).....	15
Total	61

The Club has also had at various times during the past year the services of experts in connection with the Public Work. For example, Mr. E. L. Burchard had charge of the collection and installation of the Health Exhibit.

PUBLIC WORK

The Public Work carried forward and undertaken by the Club during the past year has been creditable to the Club and of distinct value to the community: a justification, in my judgment, of all that

has been contributed and of all the sacrifice that has been made for the up-building and maintenance of the Club. It has become more and more evident that a City Club wisely and effectively handled is in a very genuine sense a most valuable form of community insurance, that no other organizations in the City are covering the ground that the City Club is attempting to cover, and that the Club not only is thus filling a special function of its own, but is of the greatest service to other groups in assisting them to the adequate fulfillment of their special functions. The use to which the private dining rooms of the Club are daily put is an indication of the Club service in this latter direction.

Committee Work—The Committee work of the Club is, in my judgment, one of its most valuable functions—one which should be retained, strengthened and made more purposeful. This work serves the purpose of bringing a considerable number of members into close touch with actual community problems and enables the Club to carry on firsthand study of conditions and to exert a marked influence in community affairs. The following brief resume, in no way complete as to activities, will give some idea as to the kind and character of the work being done in this direction:

Committee on Municipal Art.

1. Assisted corporation counsel's office in preparation of test case to determine validity of bill-board ordinance. The ordinance was upheld by the Supreme Court.
2. Inaugurated movement to secure removal of overhanging signs in the loop.
3. Re-introduced in legislature committee's bill—defeated last session—to confer compulsory powers on municipal art commissions.

Committee on City Planning.

Indorsed, through the press, bond issue for boulevard link.

Committee on Civil Service.

1. Urged upon city civil service commission—without success—adoption of rule restricting political activities of employes in the service and upon state and county commissions the rigid enforcement of existing rules on this subject.
2. Urged early examination for secretary of State Board of Arbitration and furnished list of examiners for position. When examination was held, temporary appointee, previously removed from Lincoln Park service at instance of several civic bodies, including this committee, failed to pass.
3. Co-operated with several civic bodies in framing civil service planks submitted to party conventions prior to fall election.
4. Published comparative analysis of three county civil service bills pending in the Forty-ninth General Assembly, and made suggestions for amendments.
5. (See also Parks Committee.)

Committee on State Constitution.

1. Urged legislature to pass resolution for constitutional convention. (Resolution lost.)

Committee on Garbage Disposal.

Sent to the City Council resolutions favoring plan of waste collection and disposal recommended by City Waste Commission and the creation of a technical staff with adequate appropriation to work out details of plan. Urged also printing of experts' report to waste commission and popular digest of same.

Committee on Immigration and Citizenship.

Suggested to the Superintendent of School the opening of classes in citizenship in evening school. This has been done.

Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways.

Protested—without effect—against proposed repeal of \$1,000,000 Federal appropriation for Illinois deep waterway.

Committee on Judicial System and Procedure.

Prepared and secured introduction in legislature of bill—now pending—for non-partisan election of judges.

Committee on Criminal Justice.

Prepared, for presentation to legislature, bill for simplification of form of indictment in criminal cases.

Committee of Labor Conditions.

1. Urged passage by legislature of emergency appropriation for expenses of Industrial Board to administer workmen's compensation act.
2. Prepared and submitted to state commission on economy and efficiency critical and suggestive review of a tentative draft of its report on organization of state labor bureaus.

Committee on Music Extension.

Continued co-operation with Symphony Orchestra and Civic Music Association in giving of popular concerts.

Committee on Parks and Playgrounds.

1. In co-operation with committee on Civil Service and other civic bodies urged early examination for general superintendent of playgrounds Lincoln Park System.
2. In co-operation with Civil Service Committee and other civic bodies, urged West Park Board—without success—to waive residence requirements for positions in the West Park Service.
3. Protested to Governor and Lincoln Park Commissions against location of Armory in Lincoln Park.
4. Presented to Charter Commission its objections to the \$1.80 rate in the Park Consolidation bill. A rate of \$1.70 was finally fixed upon and incorporated in the bill.
5. Joined committees of other organizations in a letter to the mayoralty candidates urging the appointment of high grade and specially qualified members to the Special Parks Commission. Mayor-elect Thompson replied with a definite assurance that his appointments would be of this character.

Committee on Taxation.

Urged county assessors to prepare and publish land value maps in advance of 1915 quadrennial assessment and to hold meetings to hear objections to valuations assigned on such maps.

It is the purpose of the Board of Directors to strengthen and develop this aspect of the Club work during the following year.

Club Discussions—The Club discussions the past year have covered a wide range, from matters of purely local interest with an immediate practical bearing, to social and political questions of a wider range but of great value from the standpoint of civic education. There have been 38 noonday discussions, 11 evening addresses and discussions, one afternoon discussion. The usefulness of this form of Club activity is so thoroughly demonstrated as to require no argument here.

Exhibits—During the past year the Club has arranged two exhibits of a thoroughly practical nature. The Health Exhibit showed, by a graphic method, the character of the health problems which come within the sphere of community action and the kind and variety of work now done in Chicago to meet this situation. The parallel column method was effectively used in showing Chicago contrasted with other communities and the contrast of Chicago conditions during different epochs in Chicago's own life. It is safe to say that very few members, even of such a body as the City Club, had any conception of the extent of this community function and of the service which can be performed for the community by a comparatively small increase in expense along these lines. Whatever may be said as to the wisdom or unwisdom of extending the community function in new and untried directions, there can, it would seem, be but one opinion as to the importance of extending the community function in the way of disease prevention and of framing an environment conducive to health and efficiency.

The greater part of the Health Exhibit was removed from the City Club to the Carter Harrison High School where it was supplemented by exhibits created by pupils in the school. The attendance of citizens at the exhibit at the Harrison school was in itself a remarkable demonstration of the keenness of public interest in matters of public concern; and the series of evening discussions held in connec-

tion with the exhibit at the Harrison school has already resulted in a marked development of the sense of community solidarity in that locality. The highest praise must be given to the City Club committees which brought together this exhibit and to the skill and devotion of Mr. Burchard in its organization and installation.

There is now on the walls of the Club another exhibit which so far as I know is unique in America, i. e., an exhibit of the Physical Properties of the Community—a graphic inventory of the community's belongings. No citizen can study this exhibit without having his vague idea of the scope and magnitude of the city's business vivified and made real in a striking degree. It would seem that no community could possibly be indifferent to the character of the officers that it chooses and to the administration which they offer, if it has once thoroughly taken to heart the lessons of this graphic inventory. A striking fact in connection with this, as well as with previous exhibits, is the extent to which it is made use of by various citizen groups, both children and adult, so that its value is incalculably greater to the community than it would be if its appeal were made only to Club members.

Competitions—During the past year the City Club has instituted and brought to a close, a competition illustrative of the need and possible development of neighborhood centers in American cities. It is doubtful if many of us realize fully the loss that American cities sustain as contrasted with well settled foreign communities, from the fact of the heterogeneity and rapid growth of the American city. The almost total disappearance temporarily of the sense of community solidarity, and of the neighborhood life which is both the expression of such solidarity and the means of nourishing it, is one of the serious handicaps sustained by the American community; and the purpose of the City Club competition is both to put this fact before the public and to indicate the direction in which the remedy may be sought.

Publications—During the past year there was published for the Club a notable document—Mr. Hooker's "Through Routes for Chicago Steam Railways." It is doubtful whether any of our modern communities, either here or in Europe, have fully realized the possibilities of a development in this direction; and certainly in Chicago there has been little appreciation of either the need or the possibility. The transportation exhibition at the City Club and the publication of this document have made it impossible for Chicago hereafter to overlook this factor in its attempt to solve its intramural transportation problem.

There is in process of preparation for publication, a report on urban land development, comprising the results of the former City Club competition—a suggestion for the improvement of a quarter section in an American city. Quite aside from the finality of any suggested solution in this competition, as in the allied one for a neighborhood center, is the creation in the mind of the public of a consciousness of deficiency in this direction and of the need of thorough-going study of the situation, to the end that the American community may seek a remedy for the present shortcoming.

The Club Bulletin—Inquiry made by the Board of Directors and by the Committee on Survey of the Public Work of the Club during

the past year has served to justify the judgment of the Committee which has had under consideration the character of and possibilities of the Club Bulletin. It is the opinion of this Committee, and of the Board, that the Club Bulletin is an important agency for keeping in touch with the work of the Club those members who are not able to be in frequent attendance at Club meetings. It is believed that at as early a date as practicable the Bulletin should be put on the basis of publication under rules governing second class matter and should be broadened in scope to cover not merely addresses delivered at the Club and activities of the Club, but also well-digested data with regard to community interests. This program, if inaugurated, will require setting aside a portion of the dues of members annually as a specific subscription to the Bulletin. It is hoped that the Bulletin thus re-organized and broadened will also be of distinct value to persons who are not members of the Club and that there may be gradually built up a subscription list which will be of financial assistance in the publication. This step, as in the case of others that have been discussed, apparently hinges on our successes in securing a considerably larger Club membership—perhaps with the further assistance that would accrue from a slight increase in the annual Club dues.

The Bureau of Public Efficiency—the child of the City Club—is continuing its valuable work in aiding the local government in the effort toward a higher degree of efficiency. The work thus far done by this one body is of itself a justification for all the money expended in connection with the City Club work from its inception to this date.

The creation of the Citizen's Terminal Plan Committee which was an outgrowth of the activities of the City Club, paved the way for the creation of the official Chicago Railway Terminals Commission. A most praiseworthy undertaking of this Commission was the trip that was instituted last summer with the object of making a study of railway terminals and their relation to intramural transportation in other cities of this country, Great Britain and Europe. It is regrettable that the breaking out of the European war cut short the tour of the Commission. So highly did the Directors of the Club regard the civic possibilities of this trip that they contributed to the group, at the request of some of its members, the presence of Mr. Hooker, our Civic Secretary, whose many years of study in this field and whose close acquaintance with many of the cities visited would obviously be of the greatest value to the Commission in making its visit bear tangible results.

I realize that the past year has not borne fruit for the Club to the full degree that I hoped. I realize also that the shortcomings would have been far greater than they have been but for the cordial support which the officers and directors have received from the Club membership, and I desire personally here to record my deep sense of obligation for the active co-operation of the membership of the Club, for the hearty support of the officers and directors, and for the efficient service of the Club's staff.

Respectfully submitted,

ALLEN B. POND,
President.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Statement of Assets and Liabilities as at March 31st, 1915

ASSETS

Leaschold, Building and Equipment, at cost.....	\$179,559.98
Furnishings:	
Furniture and Fixtures.....	\$10,079.28
Kitchen Equipment.....	3,345.54
Crockery and Utensils.....	1,668.96
Silverware.....	1,143.92
Linen.....	347.77
House Linen.....	13.48
Inventories:	
Provisions.....	418.11
Cigars.....	779.36

Accounts Receivable:

Unpaid Dues.....	\$3,170.00
Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts.....	440.00

2,730.00

Subscriptions to Public Work Funds:

Traffic and Transportation.....	659.29
Through Route Publication....	735.84
Buildings and Grounds Exhibit.....	114.79

Rents Receivable.....	1,519.92
Unpaid Restaurant and Cigar Checks....	672.78
Unpaid Subscriptions to Bulletin.....	125.15
General Accounts.....	11.50
	34.65

Sundry Prepayments:

Leaschold Ground Rent.....	845.80
Insurance Premiums.....	841.50

Cash in Bank and on Hand.....	1,687.30
Deficiency.....	667.26
	13,966.45

\$218,771.41

LIABILITIES

First Mortgage Leasehold 5% Bonds:	
Authorized Issue.....	\$200,000.00

Bonds Issued.....	\$182,100.00
Scrip Issued (Secured by Deposit of \$3,900.00 City Club Bonds with the Northern Trust Co.).....	3,700.00

\$185,800.00

16,598.95 Note Payable, National City Bank:

(Secured by Deposit of \$14,000.00 of City Club Bonds).....	14,000.00
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6,597.37

Accounts Payable.....

1,197.47 Reserves:

Dues Paid in Advance.....	1,257.50
Taxes.....	4,808.25
Bond Interest Accrued.....	3,870.25
Income Tax Withheld.....	101.49

10,037.49

Sundry Funds, Balances Unexpended:

Christmas Fund.....	96.33
Competition Publication.....	791.32
Educational Research Bureau.....	18.41
Terminal Publication.....	16.50
Housing Exhibit Publication.....	1,324.75
Publication Fund.....	32.26
Burchard Seymour Fund.....	56.98

2,336.55\$218,771.41

Income and Expenses for the Year Ended March 31st, 1915

EXPENSES	
Fixed Charges:	
Leasehold Ground Rent.....	\$10,150.00
Taxes	5,040.00
Fire and Employers' Liability Insurance....	568.49
Interest on Bonds and Loans.....	10,109.97
	<u>\$25,868.46</u>
Building Maintenance and House Expenses:	
House Employes' Wages.....	\$10,549.53
House Employes' Meals.....	2,352.00
Electric Power	1,648.56
Electric Light	696.78
Fuel	1,080.94
Building Repairs, etc.....	441.82
Uniforms	199.10
General House Expense.....	1,813.42
	<u>18,782.15</u>
Administrative Expenses:	
Office Salaries	\$ 4,403.92
Stationery and Printing.....	796.46
Postage	767.71
Telephone	886.51
Newspapers and Periodicals.....	236.29
Premiums on Surety Bonds.....	66.00
Entertainment	88.30
Membership Extension Expense.....	105.13
General Expense	319.08
	<u>7,669.40</u>
Departmental Accounts:	
Restaurant, Operating Loss.....	\$ 1,727.05
Add: Depreciation on Equipment:	
Kitchen Equipment	\$ 600.00
Crockery and Utensils.....	599.92
Linen	511.84
	<u>1,711.76</u>
Total Loss, Restaurant.....	\$ 3,438.81
Less: Profit on Cigars.....	\$ 387.91
Profit on Billiards.....	358.80
	<u>746.71</u>
	<u>2,692.10</u>
Club House Depreciation:	
Furniture and Fixtures.....	\$1,080.00
House Linen	111.13
	<u>1,191.13</u>
Christmas Fund:	
Distribution amongst Employes.....	1,610.00
Public Work:	
Provided from General Funds:	
Miscellaneous:	
Salaries of Civic Secretary and	
Assistants	5,062.20
Sundry Expenses	1,702.79
Bulletin	2,616.36
Library	742.56
Neighborhood Center Competi-	
tion	461.18
	<u>10,585.09</u>
Provided by Special Contributors:	
Neighborhood Center Competi-	
tion Prizes	\$ 600.00
Quarter Section Publication....	494.36
Through Route Publication.....	4,709.62
Housing Exhibit Publication....	62.80
Health Exhibition	1,432.52
Public Properties Exhibition....	546.16
	<u>7,845.46</u>
	<u>18,430.55</u>
	<u>\$76,243.79</u>
	<u>=====</u>

INCOME

Members' Dues	\$43,982.50	
Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts	440.00	
		\$43,542.50
Initiation Fees		1,270.00
Rents Receivable	4,550.04	
Less: Delinquent Account Charged		
off as Irrecoverable.....	135.00	
		4,415.04
Profit on Rental of Stereopticon.....		63.84
Miscellaneous Receipts		10.61
Christmas Fund: Donations Transferred to		
Cover Expenditures		1,610.00
General Contributions to Public Work.....		4,301.50
Transferred from Special Contributions to Spe-		
cific Items of Public Work to Cover Expen-		
ditures		7,845.46
Loss for the Year Carried to Deficiency Ac-		
count		13,184.84
		<u>\$76,243.79</u>

Deficiency Account for the Year Ended March 31st, 1915

CHARGES

Balance, April 1st, 1914.....	\$11,174.56	
Dues for the Year 1912-1913 and 1913-		
1914 written off.....	\$1,152.50	
Less: Reserve to Cover Loss		
on Unpaid Dues at		
March 31, 1914.....	\$ 475.45	
Recoveries on Dues		
Previously Written		
Off	70.00	
	545.45	607.05
Loss for the Year Ended March 31st, 1915.....		13,184.84
		<u>\$24,966.45</u>
		=====

CREDITS

Special Fund	\$11,000.00	
Balance, March 31st, 1915.....	13,966.45	
		<u>\$24,966.45</u>
		=====

ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

The Nominating Committee, consisting of Messrs. Victor Elting, Charles S. Bacon, Edward L. Burchard, E. O. Griffenhagen and Walter D. Herrick, selected by the Board of Directors of the Club in accordance with Article III, Section 1 of the By-Laws, reported the following nominees to be voted on at the annual meeting April 17, 1915:

President—Allen B. Pond.

Vice-President—William Scott Bond.

Secretary—Henry P. Chandler.

Treasurer—Harold H. Rockwell.

Directors—Robert M. Cunningham, O. C. Doering, Thomas W. Swan, Charles Yeomans.

No other nominations were made and the motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast a ballot for the aforementioned persons was unanimously carried. The Secretary declared the result of the elections and the meeting adjourned.

THE CITY CLUB'S "WAR SERIES"

"It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that American opinion and policy may avail somewhat in hastening the termination of the present war. It is indubitable that the policy of the United States can avail greatly to lessen the likelihood of future wars between the great powers. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that American public opinion be based on wide and accurate knowledge to the end that our judgment may be just and our policies wise. For this reason the Directors of the City Club instituted a series of addresses by able and well-grounded men on vital issues involved in the war."—*From Announcement by President A. B. Pond.*

The war series was opened with an address by Professor William I. Thomas—reported briefly in the last City Club Bulletin—on "The Racial Traits Underlying War." Other speakers have been Professor J. Paul Goode, Mr. Hamilton Holt, Professor George W. Kirchwey, Professor William I. Hull, Mr. August Schvan and Mr. George Macauley Trevelyan, London, England. Their addresses are briefly summarized below.

Other speakers and subjects in the series so far as arranged will be Mr. Walter E. Weyl on "Virility and the War Spirit" and Mr. William English Walling on "The War and the European Masses."

"A LEAGUE OF NATIONS"

"A League of Nations" is the plan suggested by Hamilton Holt, editor and peace advocate, to prevent future wars. At the second meeting of the "war series," April 1, he explained his conception of this plan: Provided, he said, four great powers would agree to arbitrate all differences and unite their armaments—reducing them to a point a little superior to that of any outside nation—world disarmament would follow as a matter of course. Nations outside the league, seeing the economy and other advantages of such a plan, would be led to join. As the league increased thus in size and importance its military force would gradually supplant the forces of the individual nations and could in time itself be reduced.

The United Nations, Dr. Holt said,

is already in existence in the form of the Hague Court. The Hague Conference was the first attempt to organize the world. Much has been accomplished as a result—one war was prevented and sixteen international disputes settled. The theory of good offices and mediation, which allowed President Roosevelt to initiate the peace negotiations in the Russian-Japanese war, and the "A. B. C." mediation to save this country from a possible bloody struggle, was established. The first step toward arbitration treaties was taken at The Hague by the adoption of the principle of arbitrating national debts.

Dr. Holt drew an interesting parallel between the world situation today and the situation in the American colonies before the formation of the union. In 1776, he said, the colonies were as

divided among themselves as are the nations of the world today and the possibilities of international co-operation have increased with improved means of communication. The formation of a league of nations is no more hopeless now than the formation of a united nation out of the thirteen colonies would have seemed then.

As a possible means of bringing the present war to a close, Dr. Holt suggested the calling of a congress of neutrals by President Wilson to sit continuously and make proposals for peace. The deliberations of this congress would be a useful preliminary to the work of mediation.

"AMERICA AND THE WAR"

What is to be the fate of international law in the present world conflict? Is it to be left entirely to the mercy of the belligerents who have shown their unwillingness to observe either its letter or its spirit, or are neutrals to have a voice in its fate? And what part is America especially to play in the settlement of these questions?

Prof. George W. Kirchwey, Professor of Law, Columbia University, discussed these questions in an address at the City Club Friday evening, April 9. He said in brief:

Ever since the beginning of the war we have been shocked by violations by both belligerents of what we have considered fundamental human rights—established by centuries of effort and incorporated in international law. These principles, designed to make war as humane as possible and to protect commerce, have been violated by both sides with impunity. International law, it is said, is dead.

If international law is dead it is because no one has stood ready to vindicate it. Not by force of arms, for international law, like all law, rests mainly upon public opinion and it is to the virile expression of public opinion we must look for its enforcement. America, among the neutral nations in this war, is in a unique position. Despite some blots upon its history, it has stood, more than any other country, for fair dealing among nations and the avoidance of

war where it could be avoided. No nation in the world is in spirit so consistently pacific as ours. America by this fact stands as the appointed trustee of neutral rights and her opinion should make itself felt in behalf of those rights. In developing and giving a voice to public opinion in their defense, the present administration has failed in a moral obligation.

Professor Kirchwey warned against the dangers of an over-developed military establishment. Adequate national defense was, he said, necessary, of course, but the preoccupation of the country with military matters might itself be a cause of war, as it has been in Europe in the present case. We are in danger that the panic mongers, the militarists may frighten us—as they did Europe—into the belief that we are safe only when armed to the teeth. America need fear nothing if it lives justly among nations and keeps itself free from entangling alliances.

"ADEQUATE ARMAMENTS"

One of the important American issues raised by the European war is the sufficiency of our armaments for national defense. Prof. William I. Hull, Professor of History and International Relations at Swarthmore College, a Director of the World's Peace Foundation and author of several books of note relating to international peace, spoke at the City Club, Tuesday evening, April 13, on this subject.

Back of the military program for increased armaments, Prof. Hull said, are the manufacturers of war materials and the practical politicians who use it as a campaign issue. A strong motive also is the belief—cherished for fifty years by the nations of Europe, but shattered for all time by the outbreak of the great war—that the best way to preserve peace is to build up big armaments. Finally, there are those who, recognizing perhaps the futility of armaments as a preventive of war, believe they are necessary for national defense.

But what would be an army and navy adequate for the national defense? asked Prof. Hull. Shall we have to fortify our 14,000 miles of coast line—practi-

cally undefended now? And to what strength should we increase our army to match the great fighting machines of millions of men now face to face in Europe? So far as the navy is concerned the increasing expense and rapid obsolescence of war ships are well known.

Are we justified in launching the nation upon so extravagant a program of expenditures for results so uncertain?

Great armaments, furthermore, have an evil influence in arousing passions of fear and distrust among nations.

Prof. Hull summed up his peace program as follows:

1. The development of an international point of view in America.
2. The limitation of armaments by international agreement.
3. The increased use of mediation as a means of settling international disputes.
4. International commissions of inquiry to learn the facts before hostilities are begun.
5. Arbitration. Scores of disputes between nations have already been so settled.

America's attitude on the question of increased armaments is one of vital importance to the world. What will our protestations of friendliness to other nations avail if we show our fear and distrust of them by arming ourselves? If America is to play a real part in the limitation of armaments after the war, she must show her sincerity by refraining from an extravagant military program now. The only result of such a program would be to stimulate still further the competition among the nations for armed supremacy.

"GEOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCES IN THE WAR"

In the address by Prof. J. Paul Goode, March 19th, a presentation was made of the geographic and economic influences leading up to the great war—influences which are found in the physical character of the countries, the mountain boundaries, the distribution of race and language groups, the unequal distribution of natural resources, especially soil, coal and iron.

Prof. Goode also discussed in relation to the war:

The rise of modern industry and commerce, and the overflow into the outside world into colonies and spheres of influence.

The rapid growth of urban, manufacturing populations, and the resulting dependence for food upon outside lands.

National rivalry and jealousy expressed in land hunger and trade expansion and the climax of hatred achieved between Britain, the ruler of the seas, and Germany, the most aggressive power on the continent.

"NATIONALISM—WAR AND PEACE"

Not arbitration, not mediation, not the dozen-and-one "remedies" for war recommended by "pacifists" in this country will really assure permanent peace if the diagnosis by August Schvan, who spoke at the City Club, April 22, as to the causes of war, is correct. Mr. Schvan was formerly private secretary of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway and Sweden. The real roots of the war, according to Mr. Schvan, lie far down in national feeling and self-interest and until nationalism is understood as a false ideal, the rivalries of the nations are bound to bring war. The relations between nations should not differ materially from the relations at present prevailing between municipalities.

Mr. Schvan named six principles upon which world peace must be based:

1. The inalienable right of every nationality to have the form of government it wants.
2. All markets open to all nations and each specializing on the production of those things for which it is best fitted.
3. The right of every individual to world citizenship as a substitute for protection accorded by his home government.
4. An international supreme court to replace the state departments of all nations.
5. Maritime police at the command of the supreme court.
6. National police forces of fixed strength to govern the waters of the respective nations.

THE BALKAN QUESTION

Mr. George Macauley Trevelyan, the noted English historian, author, and student of diplomatic relations, addressed the largest audience of the season at the City Club, April 30th, on "The Balkan Question."

The fundamental difficulty in the Balkan states, Mr. Trevelyan said, is the fact that the political boundaries do not correspond with the divisions of nationality. The Servians and Croats are distinctly one race—the South Slavs—differing only in their religious beliefs. The Croats, however, have been under the despotic rule of Austria-Hungary, while the Servians have maintained their independence since they broke from the Turkish yoke in the eighteenth century. The Croats, therefore, look to their brothers in free Serbia to aid them in their liberation. A similar situation exists among the Roumanians, a Latin race, who desire the liberation of 3½ million of their nationality in Hungary. The present European struggle, Mr. Trevelyan said, had its immediate cause in the efforts of Austria to isolate Serbia.

"The present war," said Mr. Trevelyan, "was in its origin a 'punitive expedition' against the Servians, for having the impudence to sympathize with their brother Servians and Croats in Austria-Hungary. The expedition was to have been made in August, 1913, as Signor Giolitti recently revealed to the world, but owing to Italy's refusal to join the German powers in a war of aggression it was postponed for a year, until the murder of the Archduke by his own Austrian-Serb subjects seemed a fitting opportunity to wipe Serbia off the map.

"Until the various races of Austria-Hungary obtain political self-government and cultural liberty for their languages and schools there will never be peace in Europe. There will always be assassinations, revolts and finally wars. If a peace is patched up, leaving the boundaries of Austria-Hungary intact and with no provision made for a radical change in the condition of Roumanians, Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs, a

fresh war will only be a question of years, even if every other European problem were satisfactorily solved. All the nationalist movements inside Austria-Hungary have been growing with great rapidity during the last half-dozen years, especially the movement drawing the Croats towards the Serbs. The reign of terror that has existed in these provinces ever since the war began has made it utterly impossible that the old system can continue except as the rule of the sword over a hostile population.

"Some people ask," said Mr. Trevelyan, "why, if the subject races of Austria-Hungary are thus alienated from the government, they do not now rise in insurrection. The answer is because all the young men are taken into the army by the modern system of military slavery, and all the leaders are in prison or in exile. If that had been done in Italy and throughout Europe in March, 1848, there would have been no year of revolutions. The modern militarist organization made revolutions impossible. That is why Europe is in very great danger of falling under a system of tyranny—far more impregnable to assault and more pitiless to prayer than the tyrannies against which the peoples of Europe rose in 1848."

Mr. Trevelyan described Serbia as the closest approach in Europe to real democracy. He expressed high admiration for the ordinary Servian peasants. There are no class distinctions in Serbia. The aristocracy was killed off by the Turks and Austria's policy of isolation has discouraged mercantile pursuits which tend to create class divisions. Eighty-six per cent of the people are occupied in agriculture. Land is equally divided and there are no politics except foreign politics. The primitive state of society in Serbia has been finely poetical and the Servians have developed many splendid traditions and fine ballads. It is not an uncommon feeling among the most intelligent classes that Serbia will be the loser if the industrial tendency spreads and if their democracy is modified by modern European civilization.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR ILLINOIS

The much controverted question of vocational education in Illinois and the form in which it is to be adopted was discussed at the City Club February 27. The speakers were Prof. Edwin G. Cooley, Educational Director, Commercial Club, Chicago, and Prof. Chas. H. Judd, University of Chicago. U. S. Commissioner of Education, Hon. P. P. Claxton made an informal talk at the close of the discussion. The meeting was arranged on account of the legislation for vocational education pending at Springfield.

Prof. F. M. Leavitt, Chairman of the City Club's Committee on Schools, presided. He said in part:

PROF. F. M. LEAVITT

"The discussion of the proposition to establish a state-wide system of vocational training resulted in the general acceptance of certain facts and opinions. Agreement is practically unanimous on the following points:

"That it is an unsatisfactory condition when there are eight times as many children in the sixth grades of the public schools of Illinois as there are in the last high school year.

"That the retention of these eliminated children in some kind of school for additional training is one of the most important problems of our time.

"That this can be accomplished most surely by providing a type of education which has genuine vocational motive and content.

"That this will require in many communities new equipment, new courses of study and new teachers.

"That state aid is desirable if not imperative.

"That if such state aid is given, care must be exercised to prevent such money from being diverted to the channels of general education.

"And finally that the business of helping these young people to establish themselves occupationally is a legitimate function of public education.

"Such points as these need no further discussion. There is one question, how-

ever, regarding which there is honest difference of opinion, namely, as to whether these new educational opportunities can be provided effectively by the existing boards of education, or whether it is necessary or desirable to establish a new and entirely separate system of vocational education. That question we are to hear discussed today."

The chairman first introduced Mr. Judd, who spoke as follows:

PROF. CHARLES H. JUDD

"The organization of industrial schools under a state board different from that which controls other schools has been tried and abandoned in Massachusetts, the first state which developed industrial schools in this country. The dual control in Germany can be understood only by taking into consideration the fact that the common school is entirely distinct from the secondary schools and is still the medium of general religious instruction. Children who go to the common school cannot go to the higher schools, cannot enter the professions and cannot extend their educations in any way. Furthermore, the central government of German states is so paternalistic in its relations to all boards and officers in any subordinate divisions that the dual character of the educational system is not important in actual operation, since all schools are controlled from above.

"The proposal of a dual system for Illinois means a double set of officers to control the schools. There would be two boards, two superintendents, two budgets with two overhead charges, two separate courses of study and two corps of teachers. It should be recognized that the advantages sought in the way of advice from trades people and employers can be gained without duplicating the officers who actually operate the schools.

"The schools are charged with failure to meet social demands. In reply it may be said that the demand is only newly recognized and expressed in America. The social demand is quite as new as the educational. Furthermore, there is

great progress within the schools in the enrichment of the course of study. There is also a very general retention of students in schools. During the last two decades the high school population has doubled twice. The most rapid growth has been made in the last ten years in agricultural high schools, so that now every child in the United States has access to a high school. Our conditions in this respect are incomparably more democratic than those in any other country and our high schools enroll about 1,300,000 students. Also the number of children who complete the eighth grade has doubled with a decade. These facts show that the common school is enlarging and serving the most exacting social demands.

"Finally, the needs of the industrial class will not be served by a meager continuation course after 14 years of age. What is needed is the support of the present school in its program of enlargement of the course. The advocates of the separate school say that the present school is not to be modified. This position is absurd. The present school is growing and enlarging very rapidly. It needs the support of the state and it needs the authority to do the work which it is proposed under a dual system to withdraw from it. The present school furthermore ought to do this work because the age of 14 is too late for most of the advantages to be gained. Vocational guidance and preparation are needed from twelve on at the very latest."

Mr. Cooley described the plan of the Commercial Club of Chicago, which provides for the dual system in Illinois. A condensed report of his address follows:

PROF. E. G. COOLEY

"The plan proposed by the Commercial Club attempts to complete the present system of schools by providing a finishing school for youths between 14 and 17 who are unable or unwilling to continue longer in the present system of schools. It aims at giving direct and practical assistance to young persons in, or intending to enter, any sort of vocation, such as agriculture, industry,

commerce, or homemaking. It does not attempt to reorganize or reform the present system of schools, but to supplement it by providing a system of schools that will do for the common people what we now do for the very small class in the professional and managerial positions—to supply on the basis of the common school instruction an application of science and art to the various occupations of men and women, whether on the farm, in the shop, in the store, or in the home.

"The most fundamental type of such instruction bearing on their life work will be given to boys and girls between 14 and 17, in the day time, for at least 240 hours per year. The interests and necessities of these youth require instruction bearing on their daily work in earning a living. Experience has demonstrated that success in these schools is possible only when the pupil believes that the work is made serviceable to him in his vocation and when he sees directly ahead of him some practical advantage leading to a better position, higher standing, and better pay. The instruction in these schools is therefore to center around the vocation.

"As in other schools, the ultimate aim is character-development and civic efficiency gained through increased personal efficiency. Joy in work results from efficiency in work; and joy in work, satisfaction in doing a good job, is an absolute essential to contentment, happiness, honesty, and self-respect.

"Communities are not required to establish all or any of the schools described by the bill, but are permitted to do so after a referendum. Any community organizing such a school or schools will be given state aid to the amount of one-half the running expenses.

"As these schools are radically different from ordinary schools in purpose, methods, and scope of work, special machinery is provided by the bill for organizing and administering them. Success can only be attained by the closest possible co-operation between employers and employes. The employer is required to permit boys to attend school in the day time for practically one day

a week. Unless he can be satisfied that the instruction will result in better work he will oppose the plan. On the other hand, unless the employe, too, can be satisfied that the instruction will be of benefit to his children from the standpoint of economics and citizenship he will not be willing to have his boy or girl placed in such a school. The bill therefore provides for a board of five members, composed of two employers and two skilled employes, the superintendent of schools constituting the fifth member. All these persons are to be chosen by the general board of education in cities of the state. In country communities they are to be elected by the people, while the country superintendent is substituted for the city superintendent.

"A state commission is provided, composed of nine members, the state superintendent of public instruction and eight members appointed by the governor. They exercise general supervision over the vocational schools of the state and approve or disapprove grants of state aid to them.

"The bill provides for a special tax to support these schools of one mill for running expenses and one mill for building purposes.

"The bill also provides for winter agricultural schools for the country districts which will endeavor to do for the country boy what the continuation school does for the city boy.

"The effort is to offer a school which will take the boy between the ages of 14 and 17, without regard to whether he has completed the grades or not, and give him instruction bearing directly on his life work—instruction that will increase his personal as well as his civic efficiency. It is not fair to the coming generation to limit opportunities for vocational instruction to those who have completed the elementary school and can attend the high school. A democratic ideal therefore requires us, while continuing to develop our high school system, to offer a supplementary system which will extend aid to the very much larger number of youth between the ages of 14 and 17 who are unable or unwilling to attend the high school.

"The experience of Wisconsin as well as that of European countries shows the necessity and value of such instruction. Their experience also shows that such schools have usually been unsuccessful unless cared for by a special board whose responsibility was limited to that of caring for vocational schools. Their experience has shown this to be necessary, and that both systems of schools are better for the separation.

"We have established a sort of 'caste' system, which discriminates between those who work with the hands and those in the "white-shirt" jobs. What the Commercial Club's bill attempts to do is as far as possible to offer the working youth who leaves the ordinary schools at 14 a substitute for the high school education now enjoyed by the more fortunate youth of the country."

Hon. P. P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education, spoke informally as follows:

HON. P. P. CLAXTON

"We are now making what we may call a complete circle in our educational thought and practice. Originally, schools were for what we called the development of manhood and womanhood for culture. The children were prepared for the professions and for a very cultured and leisured life. But a few years ago we woke up to the fact that children must also be prepared in schools for the duties of citizenship. Subjects pertaining to government and to civic life occupied a larger place in our educational conferences. We now realize that everyone must be given the fundamental principles which he may apply in some form of productive labor in behalf of the community; that it is our opportunity and our duty to guide each individual into that occupation where he can work the most successfully.

"I was in sympathy with the movement for vocational education in Massachusetts when they established the two educational systems in the schools. I think it is all important, however, that we shall not divide, but shall more and more unify our system of public education and at the same time make them versatile and adaptable.

"Some things can best be taught under special conditions and some things best in school houses. But I do not believe that it is necessary now that we should have dual control, that we should have two boards of education in the state, or the county, or the city. I think I can see very dangerous influences and tendencies that might come from that.

"In every state of the Union, I believe, we have accepted the principle that the elementary school, the high school, the college and the university

should be all one system. The same line of reasoning might be applied in the case of vocational and academic education.

"I do hope that in this country we shall come to see that education is one thing and not many fragments; that we should develop it as one great unit, flexible and adaptable, and that we can apply it to every kind of culture—for good citizenship, for common intelligence—and to every class of people."

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

On January 23, Mr. John H. Walker, President of the Illinois Federation of Labor, in an address at the City Club on the immigration bill then pending before Congress, made certain allegations as to the conditions of labor in the U. S. Steel Corporation. Mr. E. H. Gary, Chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation, has written to a member of the City Club a denial of Mr. Walker's statements as published in the *City Club Bulletin* and his reply is published herewith.

Mr. Gary summarizes Mr. Walker's charges against the Steel Corporation as follows:

1. That it (a) "has 40,000 men working twelve hours a day, (b) seven days a week, (c) year in and year out, (d) for an average of something like \$1.80 a day, (e) standing before a furnace in the steel works."
2. "The man is restricted as to places that he spends the money he earns."
3. "He is restricted in his political actions."
4. "He is restricted as to the kind of education for his children."
5. "He is restricted in his right to associate with his fellows."

He then continues:

After this list of abuses to which Mr. Walker alleges the employe of the United States Steel Corporation is subjected, he asserts that "unrestricted immigration was the influence that that concern used to make it absolutely impossible to remove any hope of his making things better for himself and his family."

All of the ten counts in the charges made by Mr. Walker are untrue except the first statement in the list—namely, that the Corporation has 40,000 men working twelve hours a day. These men are employed in those departments of its business connected with the

blast furnace and open hearth furnaces, which must be run continuously throughout the twenty-four hours. Since the working day must be divided either into two shifts of twelve hours each, or three shifts of eight hours each, it is impossible to reduce the working day of the men in these departments without a change in the established custom of the industry more extensive than the conditions of the industry will permit. The men who are employed twelve hours a day do not work continuously but only at intervals, and investigation has shown that the amount of time they actually work is much less than in many of the departments where it has been possible to establish shorter hours. The workmen prefer a 12-hour day and the benefit of the greater earnings thus obtained.

None of our men work seven days a week, but each man has one day of rest in seven.

We could wish that all our men might have work year in and year out, and we have done our best to give it to them, but business conditions, especially during the past year, have made it impossible to give the men the steady work which we should like to offer.

The average wage of our employes, instead of being \$1.80 a day, is \$2.84 a day. The minimum wage of men working twelve hours a day is \$2.34 and for men working ten hours a day \$1.95.

The description of a workman "standing before a furnace in the steel works" twelve hours seems ridiculous to anyone familiar with steel making, because the men employed around the furnaces work only at intervals when the furnaces are being charged or tapped, and during much of the time are merely on duty sitting around, often reading the newspapers.

None of the alleged restrictions referred to by Mr. Walker are imposed upon any of our workmen.

The United States Steel Corporation has never in any way advocated unrestricted immigration, opposed any restrictions suggested, nor interested itself in the matter in one way or the other.

THE CRITICAL SITUATION AT THE UNIVERSITY
OF WISCONSIN

One of the most widely heralded experiments in democratic government has been the so-called "Wisconsin Idea," the leadership which the state university has assumed in promoting the welfare of the state along political, educational and other lines. Recently there has been a reaction against these activities of the university, and the Governor and the state Legislature chosen at the last election propose now very radically to curtail or modify the work of the university. Mr. Victor S. Yarros was recently asked by the New York Evening Post to go to Madison, study the situation and prepare a special series of articles on the subject for that paper. Mr. Yarros did so and on Saturday, April 10, presented the results of his inquiries to the City Club. His address was entitled, "The Critical Situation at the University of Wisconsin."

The critical situation at the University of Wisconsin consists, according to Mr. Yarros, of two things: (1) a threatened demoralization of the university on account of the anxiety and dissatisfaction of the faculty resulting from the attacks upon the university; and (2) the exceedingly drastic reorganization of the university proposed in bills now pending before the Legislature.

The dissatisfaction in the teaching of the University, Mr. Yarros said, is very great. Many of the professors say they are tired of having to justify the university's existence, of being constantly investigated and placed upon the rack. This is, of course, a difficulty with which all state institutions have to contend, but some way ought to be devised to lessen the friction and create a better feeling among the faculty.

It is alleged by the critics of the university that the institution has been riotously extravagant. The state campaign was made on a platform of economy, simplicity in government and reduced taxes, and the state university, the present administration says, must share in the economy. Some of the stories of university extravagance Mr. Yarros investigated and found to be groundless.

The university critics also say that it has been in politics too much; that its men of international reputation have failed to do their share in the university teaching; and that the university has stood in the way of the water power development of the state.

Last summer the state Legislature and Board of Public Affairs, an organization consisting of certain important members of the administration and the state Legislature, decided to have a survey of the university, and William H. Allen, formerly of the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City, who had made surveys of other educational institutions in the state, was appointed to do the work. Dr. Allen studied the situation for six months, assisted by a large body of investigators. Friction with some of the university authorities developed very early. It was alleged that Dr. Allen's questions were in some cases so minute as to require weeks or months to answer, in some cases vague and of doubtful value, and in some cases of an insinuating character. The reliability and fitness of the investigators were also questioned. When sections of the report began to come in, all sorts of errors and misstatements were found and, according to faculty members, criticism of these statements was not taken by Mr. Allen in good part. In some instances, figures were corrected, but the conclusions based upon them were not modified. These things lead some of the professors to say that Mr. Allen's report is not honest, while others more charitably believe that Mr. Allen had simply tried to vindicate certain preconceived ideas in his report. The Board of Public Affairs, together with an advisory committee appointed by it and consisting of representatives of some of the leading civic organizations of the state, has submitted a report, based in part on the survey, practically vindicating the university except on a few minor points.

Mr. Yarros described the four bills now pending to curtail the functions and reorganize the management of the university. It is the belief of the faculty

members that the passage of these bills would throw the university into politics and subject the teaching to the control of the state administration.

The first bill creates a central board appointed by the Governor, to take the place of the Board of Regents now controlling the University, three members of this board to be business men, paid for their services and giving all their time to the work. These business men would have practically everything to do with finance. President VanHise of the university, has pointed out that every educational policy is of course at bottom a question of money and the result of the passage of this bill would be to place the university entirely under the control of the administration. This bill has since been modified.

The second bill proposes to remove the President from the Board of Regents. When a similar situation existed several years before the President threatened to resign, because under such conditions, he said, it would be impossible to get his educational policies properly considered.

The critics of the university say that the university has gone "extension"

mad. They say they want a good university but not a big one. They say furthermore that they do not care to take in students from outside the state, and so, by the third bill, they propose to raise the tuition to outsiders to \$150 per year. The charge to outsiders is now \$100 more than the charge to students from the state, a larger tuition than is charged to outsiders by any other state university in the country.

The fourth bill, backed by local physicians, is designed to limit the work of the university medical clinic.

The university authorities admit mistakes. Some of them believe that the university has advertised its work too much. Some say that there has been no adequate co-ordinating authority in the university and the work of the various departments has not been developed evenly on that account. Some say that fundamentals have been neglected and that more attention should be given to educational work in the rural districts. They claim, however, that the mistakes that have been made are not serious or can be easily corrected. They do not admit the major charges made against the institution.

HOME RULE FOR CHICAGO

The "Home Rule" bill for Chicago's public utilities, now pending in the Legislature, was the subject of the noon discussion at the City Club, May 3rd.

Alderman Charles E. Merriam, speaking on "The Case for Home Rule," said in part:

"There are those who look with smug satisfaction at the raids upon autonomy of our cities, but they will do well to remember that cities deprived of the power to regulate their public utilities may be forced to ownership and operation of them, in order to secure service desired and denied. The people of Chicago must have control over the public utilities which touch so closely the life of our city. If they cannot have local regulation, the alternative is local ownership, and toward this the city is being rapidly driven by the tactics of the public utilities corporations.

"The capitalization of the public utili-

ties of Chicago is \$528,000,000. Of the companies operating in the city the People's Gas Light and Coke Company is owned by the Commonwealth Edison Company and the elevated railroads are also owned by this company. Interlocking directorates among the other corporations, as shown by recent reports of the Public Service Department upon my City Council order, are so close as to keep the ownership of this half billion dollar investment in a very few hands. The process of concentration is proceeding very rapidly and it is only a matter of a short time until we will be faced by a single company controlling all the public utilities of the city. This company will have larger revenue than the city government, a greater debt than the city, employ a larger number of men than the municipality, and transact a volume and variety of business rivaling that of the municipal corporation.

"There is nothing to prevent a city of moderate size from securing the best type of expert advice and assistance. Chicago has had the benefit of the advice of men like Arnold, Cooley and Du Pont in the consideration of its traction problem; of Wallace and Fisher on railway terminals; of the Jackson Brothers and Bemis on gas and telephone, and in the last two years has attacked the public utility problem with the assistance of competent experts. The ability of the experts employed and the advantages gained have stood in striking contrast to the work done by the Railway and Warehouse Commission of the state.

"The real reason why many corporations prefer state to local control is not that one is more "political" than the other, but that the indirect pressure of the state electorate is preferred to the direct pressure of the local electorate. In the confusion of state and national politics they hope to escape, to some extent, public notice and attention. They calculate that in the excitement of national election, in the rivalry between city and state, in the battle over the liquor question, in the dust raised by fractions and sections, a commission may be secured that either will be controlled

or easily influenced by the public utility interests."

Mr. William J. Norton, consulting engineer, spoke in favor of state regulation of public utilities. State regulation, Mr. Norton said, is being adopted throughout the country as the standard type of public utility control. In California, after three years' trial at local regulation, the voters decided by referendum vote that the state, instead of the cities, should govern the public utilities.

The results obtained from state regulation, Mr. Norton said, are generally more satisfactory and efficient than those obtained from local regulation. In the latter instance, arbitrary city divisions and divided jurisdiction, where the services of utilities are not local, tend toward inefficiency and mixed authority.

Mr. Norton quoted the opinion of Professor Ripley of Harvard, that the rates, service and finance of public utilities are so closely interlocked that authority over them cannot be divided successfully. Home rule distributes these functions and therefore is a step backwards. State commissions, however, where they have been given a chance, have, in general, worked out uniform policies to the advantage of the localities.

EXHIBITION NOTES

The City Club's Neighborhood Center plans and a large number of the photographs from the Public Properties Exhibit were on display April 16 and 17 in an exhibition at the Woman's Club, River Forest. From River Forest the exhibit was sent to Rogers Park, where, on May 6 and 7, they were shown in the Armstrong School. A number of local community organizations, including the Rogers Park Town Planning Association, the Armstrong Neighborhood Association and the Armstrong Alumni Association, were in charge of this exhibit.

One of the immediate results of the Joliet Public Health and Safety Exhibition, to which the City Club contributed a large part of its health exhibit, is the endorsement of medical inspection in the schools by the Joliet Board of Education.

One outgrowth of the Public Health Exhibition at the Harrison High School last February, which included the City Club Health Exhibit and others, has been the formation of a permanent Community Council of the southwest district of Chicago. This is a co-operative federation centering at the public schools to promote the community life and ideals of the district. It includes practically all the same nationality groups—Polish, Bohemian, German, Jewish, Swedish—that did so much to make the Health Exhibition at the Harrison School such a success.

The largest of these groups, particularly the Poles and Bohemians, are most efficient in spreading information among their peoples about civic movements, as was shown by the splendid attendance on the different Nationality Nights at this exhibition.

SOME CLUB DISCUSSIONS

On April 6, Chicago voters approved bond issues amounting to nearly \$4,000,000. The case for these bond issues was presented to the City Club, March 30, by Alderman John Richert, Chairman Finance Committee, City Council; Dr. George B. Young, Health Commissioner, and John L. Whitman, Superintendent of the House of Correction.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Mr. Hooker, Civic Secretary of the City Club, spoke in criticism of the form of the little ballot and the lack of publicity in regard to the propositions. The ordinances to be approved are by law printed in full upon the ballot—an absurd requirement as it would be impossible to read them in the time allowed for voting—and this adds greatly to the length and cumbersomeness of the ballot. Especially to be deplored, however, he said, is the lack of any effective means of publicity. It should be the duty of the state to provide such publicity. Mr. Hooker exhibited as an illustration of his meaning a booklet, published by the state of Oregon and mailed to every voter in the state before election, containing the arguments pro and con on all measures submitted to referendum vote. The arguments are submitted by proponents and opponents of the legislation, who pay for the printing, the expense of distributing being borne by the state.

The little-understood double platoon system, rejected by the voters of Chicago on April 6, was discussed, pro and con, at the City Club, March 29, by George B. Hargan, President of the Firemen's Association, and Edmond D. McCahill, Captain Engine Company 21 (for the system) and Owen Shevlin of Truck 20 and Charles Kilgallon, Assistant Engineer 78 (against it).

The arguments for the measure were: That the double platoon system would keep the companies fully manned; that it had succeeded in other cities; that it would not affect the present pension and vacation privileges of the men; and that it would enable the firemen to live more normal lives, spending part of each twenty-four hours with their families,

instead of only two full days a week as at present.

The arguments opposed were: That it had never been supported by the better element of the department; that the City Council had rejected it; that its aim was to place the department under the domination of a trade union affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor; that it would mean a seven-day-a-week job; and that the men prefer the present arrangement.

The "little country theater" solves to a large degree the social problem of the country, according to Mr. Alfred G. Arvold, of the North Dakota Agricultural College. Speaking before the City Club, April 28th, on the subject, "The Little Country Theater," he said that this sociological experiment has become a dynamic force in the country communities of North Dakota. The people in these communities are hungry for social recreation and nothing interests them so much as a home-talent play. In answer to their eager requests copies of plays are sent from the package library at the State College, which consists of materials covering all forms of social recreation. It is not long before presentations of a remarkably high standard are being given. Mr. Arvold aids at first with suggestions concerning stage setting and costume, but much is left to the initiative of the people. Often they plan their own tableaux and write their own plays.

Mr. Arvold has advocated that "the little country theater" be adopted in every country court house of the state. It is even practical, he said, to use the basement of a country church or village school for plays and tableaux. One prime essential of the undertaking is to reduce the cost to a minimum. In these ways the drama may be enjoyed and participated in by the masses as well as by the classes and it becomes the instrument of democracy. In other words, it helps the country people to find themselves. They appreciate the advantages of country life and become better satisfied to live on the farms, thus checking the movement to the cities and the resulting prevalence of unemployment.

The City Club Bulletin

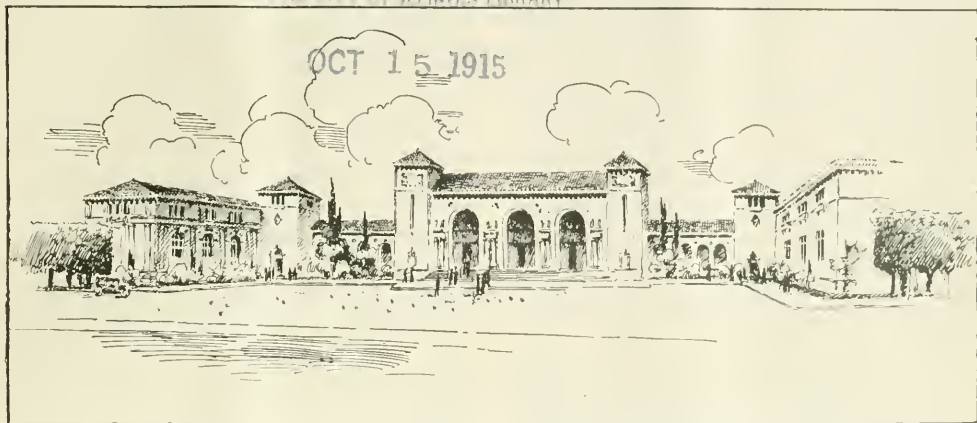
Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VIII

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1915

NUMBER 6



SKETCH FOR A NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER ON THE NORTHWEST SIDE OF CHICAGO*

By JOSEPH HUDNUT, 1915

CITY CLUB NOTICES

On October 25, Dr. Victor C. Vaughn, dean of the College of Medicine, University of Michigan, and retiring president of the American Medical Association, will address the City Club on "The Reduction of Disease." Dr. Vaughn is a distinguished physician and author of several books and a large number of articles on medical science.

Beginning October 15, the Club will serve a four-course table d'hôte dinner from 5:30 to 8:00 p. m. in the grill room on the fifth floor. The charge for this will be 75 cents. If served in private dining rooms, a service charge of 10 cents per plate will be added. A la carte service will be maintained for those who prefer it.

The grill room has been redecorated during the summer and members will find it more attractive than ever. It is regularly used as the members' dining room in the evening.

Members are reminded of the Club's facilities for serving small and large dinner groups, banquets, etc. The main dining room is available for this purpose as well as the private rooms. Banquets of 100 or more guests can be arranged for at \$1.00 per plate. Members can secure the privileges of the Club for such occasions by applying to the manager, Mr. Dignan.

Many members of the Club are not aware of the accommodation room on the fourth floor, equipped with shower bath and lockers for the convenience of members. Use of these facilities may be had on application at the cashier's desk on the first floor.

SUGGESTIONS INVITED.—One of the characteristic features of the City Club has always been its luncheon discussions. The officers realize that the members of the Club are likely to have ideas that will be most helpful in planning these noon-day meetings and arranging for topics that are timely and speakers whom it would be profitable to hear. It would be a service to the Club if members would send to the secretary such suggestions as occur to them in reference to this feature of the Club-life.

*See Page 118 of this Bulletin.

THE DANGER OF A CONFLAGRATION

For several years the City Club has devoted a day each year to the subject of Fire Prevention. This year Fire Prevention Day was observed jointly with the National Fire Protection Association on October 8th. Mr. Clarence S. Pellet, president of the Chicago Underwriters' Association, made a very interesting address on "The Danger of a Conflagration in Chicago," and following him Mr. J. E. Latta of the Underwriters' Laboratories, Chicago, gave an illustrated talk on fire protection engineering as carried on at these laboratories. He showed moving pictures of tests of materials and appliances used in fire protection work or contributing in various ways to fire hazards.

The climate of Chicago, Mr. Pellet said, is peculiarly favorable to the origin and spread of fires. In the winter there are periods of severe cold during which there is great danger of fire and exceptional difficulty in controlling it, on account of the freezing of the water and other causes. In the summer, on the other hand, there are periods of continued heat and dryness which are very conducive to fires. At all seasons of the year, moreover, high winds increase the danger of a general conflagration.

The greatest danger of a conflagration today, Mr. Pellet said, is in the extensive areas of frame construction scattered throughout the city. In any one of these a fire might be easily started, the spread of which would be very difficult to control.

The situation in the loop district has been very greatly improved in late years, owing to superior methods of construction and to the increasing use of automatic sprinkler devices. These two tendencies have made the introduction of a high-pressure water system much less important than it was formerly. In fact, there are even some objections to a high-pressure water system on account

of the increased possibility of water damage.

Mr. Pellet mentioned a number of formerly hazardous areas, the danger from which has now been very much reduced. The area between Randolph street and the river is still of very inferior construction, but it is well protected with fire stations and fire boats, and the situation is pretty well safeguarded in this way. The area west of the river which used to be looked upon as a source of danger has been greatly improved by the construction of fire-proof buildings and the use of automatic sprinklers. The same is true of the Stock Yards. The old Twenty-second street lumber district is not so dangerous as formerly on account of the spread of the lumber industry over the rest of the city.

While fire apparatus has improved, it has not, according to Mr. Pellet, kept pace with the increase in the height of buildings. In many cases apparatus adapted to four or five-story buildings is used in sections of the city where much higher buildings exist.

One important step in the reduction of fires has been the improvement in the method of insurance rating. Today there is a much more accurate measurement of fire risks than formerly, and rates are pretty well adjusted to these risks so that owners of buildings which constitute serious fire hazards are much more highly assessed. When citizens realize, Mr. Pellet said, that fire waste is paid for out of their own pockets, there will be a much more general and effective demand for the adoption of measures which will reduce it.

Mr. Pellet referred briefly to the work of the Fire Prevention Bureau and the State Fire Marshal's office, and paid a particularly high compliment to the efficiency and morale of the Chicago fire department.

The First Central States Conference on Social Hygiene will meet in Chicago, October 25 and 26, in the Florentine Room of the Congress Hotel, Michigan avenue and Congress street. Miss

Katherine B. Davis, commissioner of correction, New York City, and Victor C. Vaughan, M. D., dean of the Department of Medicine, University of Michigan, will be among the speakers.

WATER WASTE IN CHICAGO

REPORT OF A SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON WATER SUPPLY

Almost half of the water pumped by city of Chicago is wasted through leaks, through carelessness of consumers or in other ways. Not only is this a serious economic loss—making necessary the pumping of large quantities of wasted water and the duplication of expensive equipment—but the water pressure is very considerably reduced, causing great inconvenience to consumers in the upper stories of buildings and increasing fire hazards. These were the conclusions of a special sub-committee on water waste, consisting of Messrs. E. W. Bemis, Ray Palmer and Henry W. Clausen, in a report to the City Club's Committee on Water Supply, presented at a special meeting of the City Club this summer. The solution recommended by the sub-committee was general metering. The sub-committee recognized the general public prejudice against a limitation of the consumption of water, but held that rates could be so adjusted as not to discourage legitimate consumption.

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Walter A. Shaw, chairman of the Committee on Water Supply, Mr. John Ericson, city engineer, and Mr. Bemis, who read the report. It was as follows:

THE QUESTION OF PRESSURE

"A serious problem confronts Chicago. During the months of largest water waste, in very cold and in very hot weather, the pressure is insufficient for the fourth floors of apartment houses, the number of which is rapidly increasing.

"On or about August 15, 1913, the pressure gauges installed in thirty engine houses selected by the Water Department as typical locations throughout the city, showed an average pressure of only 23 lbs. per square inch, and two-thirds of the number had an average pressure of only 20 lbs., or only enough to raise water 46 feet from the sidewalk in a pipe.

"Under such conditions the fourth stories of buildings are usually without water, and, in any considerable fire, at some distance from a large main, enough

water might not be obtained for efficient service by several engines pumping at once. Thanks to the extensive and expensive gridironing of mains, most of the city has enough water for its engines. But fire hazards throughout the city would undoubtedly be lessened by a better pressure.

"Most large cities maintain a much higher pressure in their residence districts than does Chicago. The expense necessary to install and operate private pumps for all buildings over three or four stories in height is little realized. The Water Department is annually spending millions of dollars on pumping stations, mains and tunnels, but cannot materially raise the pressure. The head maintained at the pumping stations in 1913 averaged only 116 feet, or scarcely two-thirds of that maintained in Cleveland or Milwaukee. To increase the pressure is wellnigh impossible until the leaks in the mains, service and household plumbing are largely stopped. The more the pressure, the more water escapes at every leak. The selfish, the thoughtless and the uninformed let their faucets run all night in winter to prevent freezing and all day in summer for cooling purposes.

THE ECONOMIC LOSS

"Aside from failure to supply water to the fourth floor in most parts of the city, and during times of maximum demand in mid-summer and mid-winter, even to the third floor, the Water Department is giving a reasonably satisfactory service. It is not the fault of the heads of the department if the pressure is not adequate and if operating expenses are vastly enhanced by pumping twice as much as is really used. Time and again, even during 1914, have appeals been made in vain to the Finance Committee of the City Council by the Water Department heads for effective aid in checking waste, thus lessening expenses of operation and increasing pressure.

"The pumpage daily per capita, including the water that slipped back into

the pump wells after being pumped—possibly 10%—increased from 138 gallons in 1890 to 187 gallons in 1910 and 254 in 1914. During the last fifteen years the population increased 44 per cent, while the pumpage more than doubled.

"The original cost of the waterworks property now in use, less depreciation December 31, 1914, is given in the Water Department's Annual Report for 1914 as \$49,119,893. Millions of dollars are being spent by every city administration upon pumps, tunnels and mains. The investment has been absolutely necessary since the waste, enormous even twenty years ago, has increased even faster than the population. Unless something is done to turn the tide, the consumption and consequently the investment will be nearly doubled in the next fourteen years without any natural increase in pressure.

"It is not merely a question of this enormous expense for extensions and the possible consequent need of raising existing rates for water. It is a question of how long Chicago can afford to put up with the inferior service and increased fire hazard involved in the present low pressure.

THE REMEDY

"The only relief in sight, as all engineers are agreed, is through metering. Other forms of waste prevention such as pitometer surveys followed by repairs of leaking mains and services, and reduction of slip of pumps, are important; but metering is *vital*.

"During the last seven years, while Chicago has grown in population 19 per cent and in pumpage of water 35 per cent, Boston and its suburbs in the Metropolitan District, has grown 11 per cent in population and has actually decreased 17 per cent in consumption and waste of water. While Chicago has increased her per capita pumpage from 220 gallons per day in 1907 to 254 gallons in 1914, the Metropolitan District of Boston has decreased its consumption from 128 gallons to 94 gallons, through increasing its proportion of services metered from 5 per cent to 63 per cent.

"Cleveland, in the 11 years ending with 1912, increased her population 60 per cent and her pumpage only 5 per cent.

In fact, 1912 was the first year of the eleven-year period in which the total pumpage was greater than in 1901. The explanation of this is that during that period, from there being almost no meters in 1901, Cleveland went over at once to universal metering, and per capita consumption declined from 169 gallons per day per capita in 1901 to 110 gallons in 1912, and continued the same in 1914.

"Milwaukee has had a similar experience. With the increase of meters from 7,526 in 1899 to 36,415 in 1903, the per capita consumption fell from 112 gallons daily to 80 gallons. Pittsburgh, with only 9 per cent of her service metered, supplies 238 gallons per day, or the same as Chicago. Buffalo, with less than 5 per cent of the services metered, pumps over 300 gallons per day per capita; Philadelphia, with 2 per cent of the services metered, pumps over 200 gallons, while Greater New York, with about one-half of her services metered and with some attention to underground leaks, supplies less than 125 gallons.

"To be sure, Chicago uses a large amount of water for manufacturing and business purposes. It is doubtful, however, if she uses for these purposes more than 60 gallons per day per capita, for Cleveland, with her large water-consuming industries, uses under 60 gallons in this way. In 1914, of the entire pumpage of Cleveland, 82.47 per cent passed through meters and only 17.53 per cent, or 19.3 gallons per day per capita, was used in slip of pumps and meters, in leakage in street mains and services and in public use of water where metering was impracticable, such as fires, puddling of trenches, street and sewer flushing, building operations, etc.

"If Chicago could reduce this unavoidable waste and public use of water even to 25 gallons per day per capita, with 60 gallons for business uses and 35 gallons for residence uses, or a much larger amount than is used in metered cities, she would be pumping only 120 gallons, or not one-half the pumpage of 1914, which was 254 gallons.

ROCKS TO BE AVOIDED

"The popular opposition to meters is so great, however, in cities where metering has not been tried, that it is of vital importance to take lessons from the ex-

perience elsewhere. Meters can be made so popular, as in Cleveland and Milwaukee, that City Councils and the public will be unanimously in favor of them; or the subject may be so botched, as in the past in Philadelphia, that public sentiment will be equally strong against them. Indeed, it were better to drift a little longer than to attempt the right solution in the wrong way. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the following indispensable conditions of success:

"1. Minimum Rates Must Be Established: By this is meant that everyone now paying water bills should be obliged to pay for a certain amount of water whether the full amount is actually used or not. The consumer would then pay at the regular metered rate for all water used in excess of that amount which the minimum charge would pay for. For example, those now paying on the flat or frontage rate \$7.00 or less, might pay a minimum of \$4.00 for 57,000 gallons per year or 156 gallons per day, i. e., 5 barrels of 31 gallons each. For all water in excess of that amount, 7c per thousand gallons would be paid. Those paying a frontage rate of over \$7.00 and under \$10.00, might be asked to pay a minimum of \$6.00 per year and other classes of consumers might be correspondingly treated.

"Although the exact rates above mentioned are only suggestive, yet in some such way too great a fall in the receipts could be prevented, while what is more important, the temptation to use too little water will be largely removed. These minimum rates must be so much lower than the present flat or frontage rates as to permit the average householder to save money through meters without

any check upon the consumption of water for ordinary uses, while on the other hand the minimum must be sufficiently high so that the payer of water rents will feel that he might as well continue to use all the water that health and cleanliness require, since he must pay a price which gives him the right to such use.

"2. Meters must be furnished, set and maintained at the expense of the Water Department and through department employees.

"3. Meters must be furnished not only to such districts and individuals as are known or suspected of wasting water, but should be furnished indiscriminately, so that the meter will not come in the form of a penalty for carelessness or wastefulness, but in the form of a sane method of reducing water bills to those who are at all careful in preventing waste and leaks in plumbing.

"4. The city administration undertaking the task must look upon the meter not at all as the means in the aggregate of increasing revenues to the department, but rather as a means of decreasing future investments in extension of mains, pumping stations, etc., and of improving the pressure. Meters will more than pay for themselves in these ways, while if they are accompanied with such rates as will increase the revenues or even keep the growth of revenues quite up to the present rate, they are sure to bring such burden for a while to the less prudent of the community as to make the whole idea obnoxious to the people."

(Signed)

SUB-COMMITTEE ON WATER WASTE.

Edward W. Bemis,

Ray Palmer,

Henry W. Claussen.

"The cost of education (in the United States) for the year 1914, as nearly as can be estimated, was \$750,000,000. This three-quarters of a billion is a relatively small amount when compared with other items in the public expense. It is less by \$300,000,000 than the cost of running the federal government; it is less than one-third the nation's expenditure for alcoholic liquors; it is only a little over three times the estimated cost of admissions to moving picture

theaters in the United States for the same year."—*Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1914.*

Space has been assigned in the new municipal building in New York for a lunch room for women employed in the city service. An organization of the women employees, with an initial membership of 370, will be responsible for the operation of the lunch room and will meet all expenses, the city merely providing space and initial equipment.

NEW PLANS FOR A NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER

An underlying motive in a very large part of the City Club's work for the last four years has been the rehabilitation of the neighborhood as a factor in city life.

This field of effort was first opened up to the City Club in its Transportation Exhibition in 1912. At that time, the Club was concerned with the development of neighborhood commerce and industry and neighborhood social institutions chiefly as a means of relieving the pressure on the transit lines serving the down town district by reducing the need for transportation.

BUILDING UP THE SUBURBS

The City Club Housing Exhibition was held in 1913. The idea that dominated that exhibition and the conference which accompanied it was that attempts to improve housing conditions by restrictive legislation aimed at existing bad conditions could have only partial and imperfect results if the city failed to prevent the repetition of such conditions in the outlying sections of the city now being built up with homes. Thus a second time the Club was brought face to face with the problem of the development of the outlying localities, of perfecting the conditions of neighborhood life in so far as they related to the home.

The competition which dealt with the laying out of a quarter-section of land in the outskirts of Chicago bore upon the problem in much the same way. The forty plans which were submitted in this competition assumed in every case that the area to be laid out was a self-contained neighborhood, having, of course, its relations to the outer world, and due provision was made for local stores and social institutions and often for adjacent industries. In most cases, however, a neighborhood center, sometimes including a business center, around which the community life would gravitate, was provided in the design.

The idea having received this impetus from the "quarter-section" competition, it was decided to make a more detailed study of the "neighborhood center" question and a new competition to procure "neighborhood center" plans was ac-

cordingly held. Twenty plans were submitted. Following the award of honors,* a series of meetings were held, at which the neighborhood idea received perhaps the most thoroughgoing and advanced discussion it has ever had.

A SUSTAINED EFFORT

This whole train of thought and effort, extending over several years and bringing together the ideas of many men (sixty persons were engaged in the two competitions alone), convinced those who had been behind the movement of its tremendous importance and vitality. The work which had been done was of a pioneer character, however, and it was evident that a further study, gathering up and elaborating the ideas which had been developed, was necessary. It was decided, accordingly, that plans should be worked out for the development of neighborhood centers on one or more definite Chicago sites. A committee was organized for the purpose and this committee met regularly once or twice a week all of last summer. Its members were: E. C. Jensen, chairman; A. B. Yeomans, Wilhelm Bernhard, Herbert E. Hudson, Elmo C. Lowe, James P. Petrie, Irving K. Pond, Herman V. von Holst, Carl Berg, William Drummond, Jens Jensen, Dwight H. Perkins, Frederick Pischel, Robert C. Spencer, Jr., R. F. Schuchardt.

Mr. Joseph Hudnut, professor of architecture, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, one of the premiated competitors in the Neighborhood Center Competition, came to Chicago to take charge of the detail studies and prepare the plans. His results were regularly reviewed by the committee and the plans were modified from time to time in accordance with their suggestions.

HARRISON PARK SCHEME

Two studies were made, one for a neighborhood already built up, the other for an undeveloped area. A site on the West Side, including Harrison Park, located between Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets and Lincoln and Wood

*See City Club Bulletin Vol. VIII., No. 4.

streets, and an equal area immediately adjoining—in all sixteen acres—was selected for the first study. A plan was devised by Mr. Hudnut in co-operation with the committee for a Center on this site, with school, branch library, theater, assembly hall, gymnasium, bath houses, recreation grounds and other features. On one part of the site is a quarry, which it is proposed in the plan to fill to a certain height and convert into a play field and stadium. As a part of this site is already owned by the West Park Commission, the committee hopes that the scheme may eventually be carried out.

PETERSON CENTER SCHEME

For the second plan, a site was chosen on the Northwest Side of the city in a square-mile section bounded by California, Devon, Central Park and Bryn Mawr avenues. This area is not yet built up, but will presumably be developed within a few years. A considerable part of it is also in the hands of one owner, Mr. W. A. Peterson, who was cognizant of the committee's work and interested in the outcome. For these reasons it was possible for the committee to deal with the problem unhampered by fixed conditions.

After going over the ground, the committee decided in favor of locating the center at the intersection of Peterson avenue and the sanitary canal, the right of way of the latter furnishing a part

of the site. The canal also lends itself at this point to recreational uses and landscape treatment.

The plan was worked out with the utmost care, numerous preliminary studies being made and submitted to the committee for criticism and suggestion. The final plan included a large assembly hall, school buildings, library, theater, cafe and other buildings appropriate for such a Center. One feature was an outdoor court with stage for the neighborhood festivals and dramas. A business center was provided for convenient to the Center but not in immediate contact.

PLANNING THE AREA

The planning of the Center made it imperative that the street plan of the area be carefully worked out and that the main lines of communication, main thoroughfares, street car lines and elevated lines be determined. The study accordingly was necessarily broadened to include a preliminary planning of the area.

The final drawings for the two studies mentioned are now being prepared by Mr. Hudnut. When finished they will presumably be presented to the West Park Commission, the city authorities and other interested parties with the idea of having these developments actually carried out if possible. It is expected that these plans, with others submitted in connection with the Neighborhood Center Competition, will be published.

Six states, according to the last report of the United States Commissioner of Education, have definite systems for organizing and supervising vocational schools and for lending state aid to local communities—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Indiana. In each of these states the vocational schools have been placed under the direction of a special deputy or expert assistant, attached to the staff of the state superintendent or commissioner of education. The most serious problem encountered, says the report, has been that of procuring proficient teachers.

A "Soft Pedal Week" for Philadel-

phia is recommended by the Civic Club of that city. On that week it is urged:

"That the owners of steam whistles refrain for one week from blowing them in the early hours of the morning; that the owners of dogs have it on their consciences to prevent their pets from annoying their neighbors with barking; that the owners of cats keep them indoors at night; that the owners of roosters remember that crowing is a shrill and most unpleasant noise, peculiarly trying to those who are ill and sleepless; that young men who are on the streets at night remember that loud talking, singing and whistling are very disturbing to those who are trying to sleep; that street vendors and newsboys see if they cannot make quite as many sales quietly as by shouting and yelling; and that the Rapid Transit Company watch out with especial zeal for flat wheels and use much more oil on the axles of their cars."

ACTIVITIES OF THE CLUB COMMITTEES

With the end of the summer vacation period the committees of the Club are being mobilized and a plan of action for the ensuing year worked out. The committees were reorganized this spring and summer. A large number of new members were added and some of the less active committees dropped. There are now 30 committees with a membership of 640.

A new form of committee co-operation has been developed this summer. A Senate has been formed consisting of all committee chairman, and this body, meeting at regular intervals, will discuss matters of common committee interest. Two sessions of the Senate have been held already.

BILLBOARD ORDINANCE

The committees, most of them, are starting their work for the fall and winter with clear slates, although some important matters held over from past spring's session of the City Council are yet to be dealt with. Among the most important of these is the new billboard ordinance. The Municipal Art Committee did very able work last year in securing the enforcement of the present ordinance and is now promoting a new ordinance, introduced by Ald. Kjellander, entirely prohibiting billboards in residence neighborhoods. The decision of the Supreme Court upholding the present ordinance leads the committee to believe that a complete prohibition of this sort would be held valid by the courts. The passage of such an ordinance would put Chicago in the front rank of American cities in respect to its dealing with this question.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

Some of the important committee work this year had to do with matters before the state Legislature. Two committees drafted bills and endeavored to secure their passage.

A bill for the non-partisan election of judges, prepared by the Committee on Judicial System and Procedure, Sigmund Zeisler, chairman, provided for non-partisan primaries, a separate judicial ballot, the elimination of party designations and the rotation of names upon the ballot.

The other bill, prepared by the Municipal Art Committee, Everett L. Millard, chairman, related to municipal art commissions. This bill required municipal authorities to submit designs for public buildings, bridges and other public structures to the art commission for approval. At present the commission has power to act in respect to these structures only when specifically requested by the mayor and City Council. The same bill, in slightly different form, was passed by both Houses of the Legislature in 1909, but was vetoed by the governor on constitutional grounds, removed in the later draft.

Neither of the above bills was passed, but efforts will undoubtedly be made to secure their enactment when the next Legislature convenes.

CIVIL SERVICE

The Civil Service Committee endeavored, during the session of the General Assembly, to secure civil service legislation for Cook County. The committee urged that some one of the pending bills be passed and suggested certain provisions, which the committee believed should be included in any civil service law. No legislation of any kind, however, affecting Cook County civil service was passed.

HARBOR BILL

One of the committees, that on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways, successfully opposed an undesirable bill which appeared to have every prospect of success. At the close of the session, the committee learned that a bill to aid the so-called Calumet "harbor" project had been passed and was before the governor for signature. There had been no public discussion and practically no newspaper notice of this measure. The committee considered the measure, decided to oppose it, and sent a delegation, consisting of the chairman, Morton S. Cressy, and Emil W. Ritter to Springfield to protest to the governor against its signature.

The ostensible purpose of the bill was to permit the leasing of public land developed through harbor construction. Certain objectionable features were apparent: (1) The absence of any restriction on the leasing of land adjacent

to the water front, thus making it possible for the harbor front to fall into private hands; and (2) The provision for ninety-nine-year leases. The committee's belief that the bill was designed to promote the "Calumet" project was strengthened by the fact that its active support at Springfield came from the individuals who backed the Kleeman "harbor" bill, which the committee opposed in 1913. The governor, after hearing both sides of the question, vetoed the bill.

CITY PLANNING

The creation of a city planning commission with power and funds to prepare a city plan and to carry it out, under certain checks, was advocated recently by the City Planning Committee of the City Club in a report to a committee of the National City Planning conference. The committee also recommended the enactment of laws:

1. To establish certain minimum city planning standards for all communities (width and arrangement of roads, population density, etc.).
2. To establish a state city planning commission to administer the state laws and to advise local authorities.

COUNTY JAIL

The defeat of the bonds for a new county jail at the spring election was not due to the public's failure to recognize the need for a new jail, but to the methods adopted by the County Board in dealing with the question. The lack of any preliminary study of the needs and type of such an institution and its probable cost made it quite impossible for the public to judge the proposition and, warned by their experience with the building of the County Hospital, they voted it down. The City Club Committee on Criminal Justice took an active and important part in the campaign against the measure. A definite plan ought to be worked out now embodying the most modern features of prison construction, with full details as to type and cost, so that at the next election the proposition may have the approval of the voters.

STREET CAR STRIKE

Last spring the directors and the Labor Committee of the Club joined the

general demand for a peaceable settlement of the street car strike. A letter was prepared and presented to the parties at interest and the mayor, recommending the adoption of some form of mediation.

SPECIAL PARK COMMISSION

The Special Park Commission of Chicago consists, under a Council rule adopted last year, of fifteen members, five aldermen appointed by the City Council and ten other citizens appointed by the mayor. It has been the feeling of many disinterested citizens for a number of years that the personnel of the commission has not been adequate to its task, that the members have lacked special training and qualifications. Prior to the spring election, therefore, representatives from the Chicago Woman's Club, the Woman's City Club, the Political Equality League and the City Club Committee on Parks and Playgrounds requested the two leading candidates for mayor to indicate their attitude in regard to the appointments to the commission.

No reply was received from Mr. Sweitzer. Mr. Thompson wrote as follows:

If I am elected mayor of Chicago I shall select as the ten members on the Special Park Commission to be chosen by the mayor persons of the highest character and known public spirit, who are especially interested and have demonstrated their qualifications to represent this commission in playground and bathing beach matters. These selections shall be made without any reference to political affiliations, but for the best interests of this commission and the welfare of the public institutions it represents.

Following the election the same organizations wrote Mr. Thompson again, suggesting for consideration the names of fifteen persons qualified for service on the commission. No acknowledgment of this letter was received and on June 21 Mayor Thompson made his appointments, none of which were from the list and none of persons of any recognized standing in playground matters.

ALDERMANIC ELECTIONS

A plan for the election of aldermen every two years instead of annually was defeated at Springfield last spring by the united opposition of various organizations and the press. Among the organ-

izations which opposed the bill was the City Club Committee on Nominations and Elections.

The ostensible purpose of the bill was to reduce the expense of elections by reducing their number.

The objections against it were:

1. The election of two aldermen at the same time from each ward would favor political trading.

2. Every fourth year the election of the entire Council would coincide with that of the mayor.

3. The bill did not have adequate consideration by the Chicago public.

SCHOOL BOARD APPOINTMENTS.

Methods of appointing members of the Chicago School Board were criticized in a letter which the Public Education Committee of the City Club sent to Mayor Thompson just prior to the summer adjournment of the City Council. Seven new members of the board were to be appointed to serve for a term of three years, but the appointments were postponed and will not be made until this fall. "Appointments have of late," said the letter, "turned far too much upon the geographical, racial, political, social or business connections of appointees and far too little upon the possession of the intellectual, temperamental and educational qualifications required for the proper discharge of the specialized and exacting duties to be performed." To this cause the committee ascribe many of the financial and administrative as well as educational difficulties of the board in recent times. Ascertained fitness ought to be the sole

basis of appointments. The committee also pointed out particularly the necessity of appointing upon the board persons having a knowledge of the wider social problems affecting the life of the child.

ARMORY

There is often a temptation in large cities to convert park areas to uses not in harmony with real park purposes. Last spring an effort was made to secure from the Legislature authority for the erection of an armory in Lincoln Park. The City Club Parks Committee vigorously opposed this and aided in its defeat. In resolutions sent to the governor and the park commissioners, the committee pointed out that an armory in Lincoln Park would interfere with the public use of the park and seriously disfigure its best landscapes, and furthermore that the park had been paid for by the residents of North Town and Lake View and that the state ought not to "sponge" in this way upon a single locality.

The effort to place the armory in Lincoln Park having failed, a new scheme was devised for the placing of the armory on park property at Chicago avenue and the Lake Shore Drive. This was also opposed by the committee on the ground that this area was needed for park and playground purposes and that under the proposed contract the park commissioners would exchange this site, worth \$400,000, for the old armory site, worth about \$60,000. Property owners in the vicinity are preparing to take legal steps against the erection of the armory on this proposed site.

A recent number of the National Municipal Review had a very interesting comparison between the reports of the Public Works Departments of Philadelphia and Chicago. "A more entertaining and instructive pamphlet has not come to the hands of the writer in many weeks," says the reviewer, speaking of the former. "The report presents a broad-minded but searching analysis of the work of the departments and the problems that must be faced."

The Chicago report on the other hand comes in for severe criticism—not so much for its individual shortcomings but as representative of a type. "The report," says the Review, "is a volume of some 532 pages. . . . The presentation is detailed, matter of fact and thoroughly official. It lacks the flesh and blood which would make the report readable. The reader yawns before fairly started on his perusal and vows that government is dull business."

THE GERMAN IDEA OF THE STATE

"Close co-operation of the state with the individual in the interest of the commonwealth and the citizen, accompanied by democratization of the government," that is the essence of the German idea of the state, according to Dr. Moritz J. Bonn, professor of economics at the University of Munich, who spoke at the City Club Thursday, September 23.

"The Anglo-Saxon idea," said Dr. Bonn, "has been to secure the welfare of the commonwealth by freedom from government influence and by legal equality of the individual. But the German people have realized the equality of rights do not create equality of chances, that inequality in material resources must be reckoned with in an old commonwealth like their own.

"The German people have not the same craving for equality which exists in other countries. The craving to differ has always been one of the great difficulties of German political life. People become specialists, but they insist that all functions and all services are equally honorable and that the lowest artisan works for the interest of the commonwealth in the same way as does a captain of industry. The old idea of service to the state is modernized in form and substance.

EQUALITY OF CHANCES

"As equal rights do not give an equality of chances, however, certain corrections are necessary. Industrial concerns, for example, who labor under unfavorable circumstances demand state help in the form of protection and railway rights.

"On the other hand, if large masses of the German people cannot rise from positions with low salaries, they have a right to compensation for chances missed. The state wants them to be contented and to be secured against the incidents of a laboring man's life. That is the real meaning of the social insurance in Germany, under which sixteen million people are insured against old age; fifteen against sickness, twenty-five against accidents.

"But the German people have duties

as well as rights towards their government. To carry out all the objects of government a good deal of money is wanted, and taxes with us, as in other countries, have to be levied by compulsion. The same holds good as to defense. Germany insists on compulsory service, not because she is aggressive, but because voluntary service would not do. In a great emergency voluntary service means nothing else than that the good citizen does his duty, enlists and gets killed, whilst the 'rotter' remains at home and makes patriotic speeches. Necessity is the driving force on which depends the social as well as the military organization of a nation. The nations themselves, not outside observers, are the only judges of the sacrifices they must ask their people to bring.

"The German idea of the state is not restricted to Germany. In democratic, Anglo-Saxon Australia, the German idea of the state has been carried out almost to greater length than in Germany itself. And when England, through the efforts of her present minister of munitions, tried to improve her social system she turned to Germany for advice.

THE GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

"The chief difference between Germany and the other countries following her example lies in the fact that Germany has been accustomed to the work she has been doing for many centuries. What the German people had to do was to democratize the government. They have done so to a marked degree in the last twenty-five years. They will do so on a much bigger scale after the war. For the war has shown them beyond doubt that, as far as they are concerned, the German idea of the state has been sound and successful. The co-operation of the individual with the state by mutual duties and mutual rights has enabled them in time of peace to build up a huge, industrial empire, based on international trade; it has made it possible for them in time of war to withstand successfully a world-wide attack, accompanied by complete commercial isolation."

THE MODERN SCHOOL PLANT

"I am fast reaching the opinion," said Mr. William B. Ittner, school architect of St. Louis, speaking at the City Club recently, "that a school building is the most important building in any community: it is the place where character and citizenship are moulded.

THE OLD-TIME SCHOOL HOUSE

"It is not so many years ago when a school building was a plain box-like structure, containing class rooms of extraordinary size and poorly lighted, a corridor narrow and dark, and one or more wooden stairways, according to the number of rooms to be served. The building contained no toilets; it was heated by stoves or hot air furnaces, and there was no provision for ventilation except by the windows themselves. I dare say that the memory of the odor usually prevalent in these schools lingers with some of us yet, as a heritage of our childhood, which time can never efface."

Mr. Ittner described the remarkable evolution which has taken place in the school plant since that date. As the curriculum was extended beyond the "three R's," as scientific and vocational studies were added, as play and recreation assumed importance as educational motives, as the school tended in many cases to become a center for neighborhood social activities, the demands upon the school structure were greatly increased. The modern school building is an elaborate plant with assembly rooms, gymnasiums, swimming pools, workshops, laboratories and a large number of other special features.

"A school building," said Mr. Ittner, "must meet the demand of the particular community in which it is erected, and, thanks to the introduction of many special rooms, the standardized schoolhouse, in its plant at least, has become a thing of the past. We have come to a full realization of the importance of larger sites, sunlight, environment, proper sanitation and ventilation, and these have also had their full share in the development of the modern school plan.

THE SCHOOL SITE

"One of the most common errors is

the purchase of an inadequate site for a large school building. To be sure, accessibility to the greatest number of pupils is of primary importance, but this should never be measured against the advantage of pure atmosphere, beautiful environment and the absence of noise and dust.

"Authorities agree that the minimum allowable area for a site, after deducting the area of the building, planted and other restricted areas, should be 30 or 40 square feet per pupil. This will insure proper light and air, but very restricted playground and such limitations are only necessary in the congested parts of our large cities. One hundred and fifty square feet per pupil may be taken as a working standard in cities, while ten and twelve-acre sites may be considered ideal in suburban districts and small school communities."

Mr. Ittner showed a number of slides illustrating the importance of good school sites. He spoke particularly of the schools at Gary, Indiana, where the policy of combining school and playground has been adopted. For the Froebel School two city blocks were joined and this made possible the establishment of a small public park in the foreground, school gardens, a playground and a wading pool for the smaller children, and athletic field with track, baseball field and gridiron. The sites of these Gary schools cover approximately 12 acres and are lighted for night use. "I know of no other city," said Mr. Ittner, "offering such ideal opportunities for play and physical training, in connection with its public schools."

SOCIAL CENTER USES

"In my opinion," he continued, "the school, with its playground, forms the most natural nucleus for the development of civic centers, and such sites as these furnish the best pivot around which the neighborhood activities may well center and expand. Professor Dressler has well said that the school building is the citadel of a democracy, and there has developed about it a sentiment of dignity and decorum, influential in all movements undertaken within its precincts. Furthermore, the use of these

buildings for worthy social work of all kinds is bringing the school work into a more vital touch with the real life of the world and bringing also the American community into a more vital relation with the teacher and those responsible for schools and school organization.

INTERIORS

"The most common defect in our school plan is the lack of openness to light and air in the interior. In this country, it is almost universal to flank the two sides of the corridor with class rooms and depend upon the class room doors and transoms and the windows at the end of the corridor for light. On the continent, the prevailing custom places the class rooms on the one side only, giving direct outside lighting in the corridor. While the American custom gives a more compact and economical building, it is accomplished at the sacrifice of proper lighting and attractiveness, and is one of the weakest points about our school plan.

"Along with the provision for better interior lighting, we have endeavored to provide our school grounds with planted areas. In some cases, owing to restricted sites, these planted areas are confined to very limited space, but no opportunity is neglected to provide some planting, modest though it may be. This movement began some fifteen years ago, with an annual appropriation of one thousand dollars. Today we are maintaining a force of gardeners, at an annual cost of ten to twelve thousand dollars, and we

are propagating shrubs and plants for general planting, as well as school room embellishment.

"Finally, I think our schools, in a great and increasing number, are either suffering with an overabundance of architecture or have never gotten beyond the school-house type through the absence of it. One of our hardest lessons seems to be to learn that it is not necessary to use expensive materials nor add useless appendages in the hope of obtaining novelty or beauty. The best things are those which evidence the use of the simplest materials and that restraint in design which is always consistent with good taste and refinement."

Mr. Ittner illustrated his points by a large number of excellent slides.

SCHOOL YARDS

On the program with Mr. Ittner was Miss Kate Starr Kellogg, district superintendent of schools, Chicago. She spoke on "The School Yard." Among other things she said:

"If we accept thirty square feet of free open playground space as the minimum per pupil, but 50 per cent of our school yards meet the requirement. In the congested districts, where some of our largest schools are located, we have the smallest school yard space, and, although this condition is relieved in a few cases by the vicinity of public playgrounds, the unhappy fact remains that fully 10 per cent of our school yards have today less than fifteen square feet of space per pupil."

The rapid adoption of the "jitney" bus in so many American cities gives interest to the following figures from the 1914 report of the London Traffic Branch of the British Board of Trade: In 1903, there were in London 3,623 licensed horse 'buses and 13 motor 'buses. In 1913, the number of horse 'buses had declined to 142 and the motor 'buses had increased to 3,522 and carried over 7,000,000 passengers. A review of the report in the New Statesman says:

"Some of these (motor 'buses) were making journeys of 20 miles (e. g., from Clapham Common to Dorking); on other routes all night services had

been instituted; and in many cases a system of through booking between trams, trains and omnibuses was in operation. The urban and suburban railway companies have been seriously troubled by the competition of the motor 'buses, which have steadily extended their service into the outskirts of the Metropolis."

The competition of the motor vehicles has also been very seriously felt by the municipal tramways. The motor 'buses, says the report, have been responsible for a very considerable increase in street accidents, and have been commonly known in the press as "Juggernaut cars."

SOME CLUB DISCUSSIONS

"PROGRESS" DINNER

Whatever else the great world war has done, it is certain that in thousands of sad and thoughtful homes the globe over some such questions as these have been asked and pondered: Is human progress a mere illusion? If such things can be, what and where is our vaunted culture, our civilization? If the terrible and apparently needless and futile struggle is compatible with civilization and does not reduce so-called progress to a mockery and sham, what is the true definition of progress? Finally, does a "progress" which renders such horrors possible, or which fails to prevent or exclude them, signify or contain anything worth while?

These were the questions, according to Mr. Victor Yarros, writing for the July American Journal of Sociology, which moved the City Club last June to hold its symposium on Human Progress. The symposium was one of the most important and significant events which the City Club has ever held. It has received wide attention throughout the country and a number of leading newspapers and magazines have reviewed and commented upon it. Contributors to the symposium were Professors John Dewey and James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University and Professor Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, representing respectively the points of view of the philosopher, the historian and the economist. The symposium and dinner was attended by almost 500 persons and the addresses were heard by an even larger number.

ILLINOIS WATERWAY

Illinois' long agitation for a waterway to the Gulf was brought to a conclusion last spring when the Legislature passed the governor's bill for a waterway link between the drainage canal and the Illinois River below Utica. Five million dollars was appropriated for this development and a commission has been appointed by the governor to carry it out.

The bill provides for an eight-foot channel from Lockport to below Utica, a distance of 65 miles, using the Illinois River except for about twenty miles around Dresden Heights and Marseilles. A detour through the Illinois and Michigan Canal will be made at these points to avoid the Illinois River power sites—

now in litigation. When this link is built there will be a channel eight feet deep from the lakes to the Gulf.

The waterway bill in its original form was discussed at the City Club prior to the adjournment of the Legislature by Representative Michael Igoe, chairman of the House Committee on Waterways, Mr. Isham Randolph and Mr. Lyman E. Cooley, consulting engineers. The bill as passed was considerably amended.

Mr. Igoe, speaking for the bill, argued that since the channel below Utica is but eight feet deep and since there is no assurance from the federal government that a deeper channel would be constructed in the Mississippi, a fourteen or twenty-foot channel would be extravagant and useless. An eight-foot channel, moreover, is practicable for all needs of commerce and would be as deep as the great canals of Europe, which carry such enormous traffic. The economies in transportation to be realized from the building of the canal, Mr. Igoe said, would be enormous.

Mr. Randolph opposed the scheme. He characterized it as a make-shift, criticizing particularly the diversion into the I. & M. Canal. The water power rights on the river, he said, should be acquired and developed by the state and the all-river route adopted for the canal. Mr. Randolph declared for an ultimate fourteen-foot depth. He stated that if Illinois should build such a waterway the federal government would ultimately feel impelled to deepen the Mississippi channel.

Mr. Cooley declared that in his opinion the canal should be so planned and built as not to preclude the development at some future time of a waterway which would enable lake boats to go down into the state as far as Peoria and would conform to any depth that might be developed on the Mississippi. The bill before the Legislature, he said, did not violate any of these possibilities for future development. Mr. Cooley favored the bill as it stood, but opposed it in the final form in which it passed on the ground that "the later modifications were contrary to the spirit and letter of the constitutional amendment of 1908 and subversive of the policy of progres-

sive development, which led the deep waterway advocates to support the project as originally outlined by the Board of Engineers."

COOK COUNTY NURSING SERVICE

One of the important adjuncts of a great hospital is, of course, an efficient nursing service. The nursing service at the Cook County Hospital has for many years been provided by the Illinois Training School for Nurses, an institution not for profit, but for public service. The money received by the school from the county covers only operating costs, it receives no interest on a very considerable capital investment.

During the Bartzan administration of the County Board, and again this summer, an attempt was made but without success to transfer the nursing contract to another institution, which had made a lower bid. Opposition to this transfer developed at once. It was pointed out that the acceptance of the lower bid

could result only in deficient service, as expenses now were at the minimum prescribed by good standards of nursing service.

Mr. Asa Bacon, superintendent of the Presbyterian Hospital, speaking of this subject at a public meeting at the City Club last summer, criticized the idea of an annual nursing contract on the ground that to reorganize the nursing staff annually would demoralize the nursing work, lower the standard of nursing, interfere with discipline and practically destroy technic. Mr. Bacon stated that, so far as he had investigated, he had found that the Cook County Hospital paid less for its nursing than any other hospital of 300 beds or more in the West.

Other speakers at the City Club meeting were Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, president of the school, and Dr. J. L. Miller of the attending staff at the hospital.

The contract with the school has been renewed by the County Board.

The report of Henry Bruere, city chamberlain of New York, on Administrative Re-organization, made to Mayor Mitchell last May, calls attention to the lack of effective administrative control by the mayor over the various departments of city government. "General administrative responsibility," says Mr. Bruere, "has been vested in elective officers, whose principal functions heretofore have been of a political character. The mayor is burdened with a variety of tasks and responsibilities other than those relating intimately to the management of city business, and while he is expected to be the dominant and controlling influence in the administration of the city, the mayor's office has heretofore been completely devoid of organization to accomplish this purpose." Mr. Bruere advised the formation of the "Division of Administration" in the mayor's office to serve as a point of contact between the mayor and the various departments, and an instrument of control, supplanting the present commissioner of accounts ("the mayor's eye"), who has a purely investigating function. An effort was made to secure the enactment of this recommendation into law, but the bill failed to pass the Legislature.

CLUB NOTES

A new House Committee for the City Club has been appointed. It consists of S. Bowles King, chairman, Charles Yeomans, John H. R. Jamar and William Scott Bond.

Mr. W. B. Hale has been appointed a member of the Public Affairs Committee of the Club in place of Prof. Willard E. Hotchkiss, resigned.

The directors of the Club this summer adopted a rule extending the privileges of the Club to sons of members between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one upon introduction by their parents during the summer vacation and Christmas holidays.

Among the "rookies" at Fort Sheridan are Guy L. Jones, chairman City Club Fire Protection Committee, and James P. Petrie, of the Committee on Parks and Playgrounds.

Delegates from Chicago to the conference of the National Housing Association at Minneapolis last week included Charles B. Ball, Dr. W. A. Evans, W. F. Dummer, Mrs. Edward T. Lee, Allen B. Pond and George E. Hooker.

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OCTOBER, 1915

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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VIII

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1915

NUMBER 7

A NEW PLAN FOR SOCIAL CENTERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

For several years, in response to the growing popular demand for greater use of the school plant, the Board of Education has opened the school houses in a restricted number of neighborhoods throughout the city for social center uses, the number of such schools ranging from ten to twenty-five. These social centers were closed for most of last year on account of financial difficulties of the School Board, but provision has now been made for their continuance. Early this month, twenty-eight such centers were opened.

Last spring, at the instance of the City Club, a series of conferences was held to consider the subject of play in its relation to education. These conferences, composed of about thirty people, practically all engaged in the promotion or direction of play or school activities, gave much consideration to the social center activities of the schools. It was the feeling of the conference that these activities had in the past been unsatisfactory in character and that the whole movement had been superficial and lacking in strength and quality. After a number of meetings a plan was agreed upon for recommendation to the School Board. The features of this plan, broadly speaking, were as follows:

1. That the School Board should appoint a specially qualified person whose sole duty it would be to promote the development of neighborhood uses of public school properties.

2. That the primary aim for the immediate future should be to develop a few, say five, neighborhood centers which should be really models.

3. That the activities of such a center be in charge of a neighborhood association, the organization of which should be wisely promoted by the supervisor—

who would also be its counselor and guide.

4. That aside from the free provision of the school buildings, lighted, heated, etc., the expenses of the center should be met by the association, it being permitted for this purpose to charge admission to certain of the affairs held.

This plan was presented to the School Board, and after a hearing before the School Management Committee in which arguments were made in favor of the new scheme of organization, a special sub-committee of five was appointed by the School Management Committee to take up the conference statement and report later upon it.

In the meantime the organization of the social centers has proceeded along the old superficial lines. It was especially stated, however, that the plan was open to such re-organization as might seem wise in the budget for the next calendar year.

Neighborhood uses of public school buildings outside of school hours are rapidly increasing in the country as a whole and it is the belief of those who participated in the conferences that if Chicago should adopt the plan proposed it would soon be in the front rank of American cities in regard to the standards represented by such use. The recommendations of the conference, as submitted to the Board, were as follows:

Supervisor of Neighborhood Centers

1. That the Board of Education authorize the appointment by the superintendent of schools of a Supervisor of Neighborhood Centers in public schools, who shall be especially qualified, and whose sole duty it shall be, under that superintendent, to promote, organize and supervise neighborhood use of Chicago public school buildings.

Five Model Centers

2. That the endeavor be made to open and operate, during the year of October, 1915, to October, 1916, in selected school buildings favorably circumstanced for the purpose, five neighborhood centers which shall deserve to be regarded as models in standard and type.

These should be opened, one after another, only as rapidly as the requisite preparatory work in advance can be done by the supervisor in each instance.

Organization of Center

3. For developing the neighborhood use of public school buildings the supervisor should promote the formation of a neighborhood association, membership in which should be based on enrollment and payment of regular dues.

The affairs of the center should be managed by a council, including the school principal and the officers and various committee chairmen of the association. This council should, with the approval of the supervisor, select teachers, leaders and helpers.

The council should be represented by an executive officer—for example the president, acting without pay, if he should have the requisite qualifications and time, or a director employed by the council—who should be in direct charge of the activities of the center.

The secretary or some other representative of the council should also be at the school building from 1 to 5 and 7 to 11 p. m. daily to attend to details as a sort of neighborhood secretary.

The steps taken in opening each of these five model centers should be based upon thorough precedent study of the particular neighborhood by the supervisor and upon carefully arranged plans.

Expenses

4. The school buildings for these five neighborhood centers should be provided, heated and lighted free of charge, for at least three afternoons and evenings each week and as many more as may be required by the center and approved by the supervisor.

All expenses—for directors, teachers, leaders, helpers or any other purpose—aside from the school buildings, should be provided by the neighborhood association. During this first year, however,

for the purpose of a demonstration, such expenses should, in the case of these five model centers, with the approval of the supervisor and the superintendent of schools, be met in part from such sum as may be set aside for that purpose from the current appropriation of the Board of Education for social center purposes.

As a means of raising money for their expenses the associations should be permitted, with the approval of the supervisor, to charge admission to certain of their activities.

Activities

5. The activities of these centers would presumably include, among other things, concerts, community choral work, vocational guidance in co-operation with the Central Vocational Guidance Bureau of the Board of Education, use of reading and study rooms, use of playgrounds and playrooms by children at certain hours, and of athletic grounds and gymnasiums by young people and adults at certain hours, meetings of parents' associations with talks, lectures and conferences on educational, civic and social subjects, meetings of various local organizations, and perhaps once a week a general program, entertaining in character and followed by a social hour with refreshments. Application would presumably be made also to the Public Library for a local library deposit station, to the School Board or Special Park Commission for playground supervision and instruction in athletics, and to the Civic Music Association and other kindred civic organizations for co-operation in various lines.

Limited Centers

6. In addition to the five model neighborhood centers recommended above, organizations created for the sole purpose of developing neighborhood use of other public school buildings should, on approval by the supervisor, be granted for that purpose the use of such school buildings not to exceed two afternoons from 3:15 to 5 and two evenings per week, free of charge, such organizations meeting all other expenses, and being permitted for that purpose to charge admission to some of their affairs.

They should be permitted to use the school buildings on additional evenings

on payment of the cost of heating, lighting and janitor service.

Apportionment of Appropriation

7. It is suggested therefore that the appropriation mentioned be devoted (1) to the payment of Supervisor of Neighborhood Centers, (2) to janitor, heating and lighting service for opening school buildings as many evenings a week as may be required for the proposed five model centers, (3) for janitor, heating and lighting service for opening school buildings not more than two afternoons and evenings a week for limited centers, (4) for providing, if necessary, directors, teachers, leaders, and other helpers for the desired demonstration in the five model centers.

Object in View

The primary purpose of the above recommendations is that the appropriation by the Board of Education for the current fiscal year for social center purposes shall be so used as to afford a demonstration of what neighborhood centers in public schools in Chicago may and should be, according to a proper and

high standard. It is believed that with such a demonstration made in, say, five instances, it will be possible hereafter not only in those five instances, but in many other cases, to have neighborhood centers of standard type and self-supporting save for the provision of the school buildings.

Respectfully submitted,

CONFERENCE ON RELATION OF PLAY
AND EDUCATION.

By (Sd.) GEORGE E. HOOKER,
Chairman.

The persons participating in the conference were:

Mrs T. W. Allinson	Allan Hoben
Dora Allen	Jens Jensen
William J. Bogan	Mrs. Frank Jerome
A. T. Campbell	J. A. Johnson
Allan J. Carter	Henry Kallenberg
O. C. Doering	Mrs. Franklin Leavitt
Mrs. W. F. Dummer	Mary E. McDowell
Mrs. R. B. Ennis	Louise Montgomery
Theodore A. Gross	Frank I. Moulton
Fred G. Heuchling	Dwight H. Perkins
James P. Petrie	Mrs. M. L. Purvin
Azile B. Reynolds	John R. Richards
Charles E. Suiter	Clayton F. Summy
Harriet E. Vittum	A. B. Yeomans.

CIVIC COMMITTEE NOTES

The following persons have just been appointed to civic committee chairmanships:

Albert B. Cone, Committee on Publicity and Statistics.

Philip S. Post, Committee on Taxation.

Laird Bell, Committee on Political Nominations and Elections.

With the approval of the Senate, twelve of the civic committees of the club, with the City Planning Committee as a co-ordinating agency, have undertaken a study of the physical features of the city north of Kinzie Street for the purpose of formulating a comprehensive preliminary plan for the future development of that area. This plan will cover the main physical features of the area, including among other things the public utilities—transportation, lighting, telephone, water, sewers, etc.—streets, parks and playgrounds, harbor and waterway facilities and the distribution

of industrial, commercial and residential areas of different classes. The work is under the general direction of a steering committee from the City Planning Committee, consisting of R. F. Schuchardt, chairman, C. D. Hill, Elmo C. Lowe and Elmer C. Jensen, and the City Planning Committee is kept in touch with the work of the other committees by a system of delegates. The co-operating committees are: Public Utilities; Streets, Alleys and Bridges; Harbors, Wharves and Waterways; Parks and Playgrounds; Public Education; Water Supply; Drainage and Sewerage; Fire Protection; Housing Conditions; Accident Prevention; Municipal Art.

The Public Affairs Committee of the Club has approved the organization of a new civic committee on government. The duty of this committee will be to investigate the subject of government as a whole—its theory, functions, organ-

ization and operation. The formation of this committee is the outcome of a series of conferences by City Club members. It was the judgment of those who participated in these conferences that in addition to the more specialized studies of the other civic committees, a general study of government with a view to ascertaining fundamental defects and remedies ought to be made. The conclusions of these conferences may perhaps be stated as follows:

1. That our government, though expressed in three geographic units, is essentially one, so that no part can be properly understood aside from its relations to the other parts;

2. That the instruments of government are the most fundamental and influential of all social conventions;

3. That the instruments of government in America—which are usually varied in form and differ essentially from those dictated by the experience of other leading nations—are conspicuously inefficient;

4. That these instruments have largely been adopted on a basis of imitation or casual inferences as to their merits and principles;

5. That until recently little thought has been betowed upon the question of government in this country since the formulation of the Constitution, such recent thought being inspired by sense of failure in working of our political instruments and being mainly directed in a sporadic way toward details here and there;

6. That the needed widespread public interest required for the establishment of proper political instruments can with difficulty be secured for individual items and can best be secured by plans of comprehensive scope;

7. That for such an effort toward a statement of the defects and the precise changes needed in our political framework a system of citizen committees, wisely selected for the purpose, might be of definite value.

The committee is being organized under the chairmanship of Robert Catherwood.

The other civic committees of the club

will be asked to co-operate from time to time with specific criticisms and suggestions in their particular fields.

Last August the South Park Commission made public some tentative plans for the improvement of Grant Park and invited criticisms and suggestions in regard to these plans from the public. The City Planning Committee of the City Club, without attempting to deal with the merits of the plans in general, on October 26th submitted to the South Park Commissioners some suggestions as to details.

It was the opinion of the committee that while the general lay-out of the tract would probably require a somewhat formal treatment because of its confined area and its location adjacent to the most formal part of the city, the treatment of separate units making up the composition should be as informal as possible in order to afford a pleasant and restful relief for the masses crowded into the downtown district. Something similar to the Public Gardens and the Commons in Boston was suggested.

The location of the proposed stadium was a point at issue in the plans made public by the South Park Commissioners. One plan suggested that the stadium be located in the center of the park. This the committee opposed for the reason that being ordinarily empty it would present a bleak and cold aspect and that such a structure as the central feature would not be a very happy arrangement. Furthermore, in the opinion of the committee, the transportation facilities to the park are better at either end than at the center. The committee suggested that the north end of the park would be the more fitting location, the south end being reserved for gardens, as a more appropriate setting for the classic structure of the new Field Museum.

The American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Political Science Association, and the American Association for Labor Legislation will hold their annual meetings in Washington December 27 to 30.

THE NEW MUNICIPAL ART COMMISSION ACT

After six years of persistent effort, the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club of Chicago succeeded in securing the passage at the last session of the Illinois Legislature of an amendment to the Act for the Creation of Art Commissions in Cities, which greatly enlarges the powers of such commissions. The amendment was approved by the governor, and has been in force since July 1 last.

Chicago is the only Illinois city which has a municipal art commission under the authority of the law just amended. The old commission consisted of the mayor, the president of the Art Institute, the presidents of the Park Boards, and three other members appointed by the mayor, one a painter, one a sculptor and one an architect. Their former powers extended to works of art placed upon public property, and when so requested by the mayor or Council, their approval was required for designs of buildings, bridges, etc., on public property. In practice, they were never requested to act on the latter designs, and their existence had been frequently forgotten.

The new Act changes the personnel of the commission to consist of the mayor and six other members, to be appointed by him. Three of them are to be appointed from one or more of the professions of painting, sculpture, architecture and landscape gardening, and of the other three none shall be appointed from the professions from which such appointments have been made.

The powers of the commission are enlarged to require their approval, not only of works of art, but of designs of buildings, bridges, approaches, gates, fences, lamps, or other structures erected upon land belonging to the city or a part of any parks or other ground under the jurisdiction of a city; also of the lines, grades and planting of public ways and grounds and of the arches, bridges, structures and approaches which are the property of any corporation or private individual, and which extend upon public ground. The approval of the commission shall not be required, if the common Council shall so direct, in case of any such structure, not including works

of art, erected at an expense not exceeding \$200,000.00. The commission may offer advice or suggestions to the owners of private property in relation to the beautification thereof and any person may submit plans and designs of private structures to the Art Commission for advice and suggestion. The Art Commission may receive and act upon the complaints and suggestions of citizens or voluntary associations having such objects and purposes in view. The act automatically applies to the existing Chicago commission, and under its terms the mayor was directed to appoint new commissioners after it became in force July 1. The mayor has, in fact, not appointed the new commission, and owing to the late printing of the new session laws, the existence of the amendment and its effect is less known than its importance warrants.

The new Act was worked out by the Municipal Art Committee, in the light of results from the commissions in the cities of New York, Pittsburgh, Denver and elsewhere. The New York Act was very carefully drafted and has resulted in the creation of a department of the city which has been very active and valuable. There was opposition at first from the contractors and architects to its work, but owing to the ability and tact with which they have handled it, that commission is now firmly established as an important adjunct to the city administration. Under the constitution of New York, it was found possible to require the appointment of the commission from a list nominated by the semi-public art institutions, but this was not possible in Illinois under the constitution. A public spirited commission in this city will be able to accomplish a great amount of good in improving the appearance of public structures, and it is especially important that the department shall now be organized by competent members. The architects of the city are interested, and it is hoped that the city administration will listen to suggestions with a view to getting the best personnel. With the park consolidation act in force, the jurisdiction of the commission will extend to all our public parks.

To State Senator Morton D. Hull is due the thanks of the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club for introducing and securing the passage of the act in the Senate. He has stood by the committee in its efforts several years, without discouragement from former

failures to get the act passed. To Representative Edward D. Shurtleff, as well as to Mr. Hull, is due the credit for securing the passage of the bill through the House.

EVERETT L. MILLARD,
Chairman, Municipal Art Committee

EXPENDITURES OF THE SCHOOL BOARD

The Board of Education has on various occasions incorporated as part of its official record the rules established by the Civil Service Committee of the city governing salaries, grades and conditions of promotion for employes. The City Club Committee on Public Expenditures, in a letter, November 8, 1915, to the Board of Education, called attention to what it considered a very serious violation of the letter and spirit of these rules by the board. Under the rules, employes are entitled to certain salaries based on the grades to which they belong. The board has, however, according to the committee, from time to time approved vouchers for extra compensation to some of its employes in addition to the amounts to which they were thus legally entitled.

All pay-rolls of the board must be reviewed by the Civil Service Commission and the comptroller, and these have declined to approve payments in excess of the legal compensation when included in the pay-rolls. This extra compensation has therefore been paid in lump sums and by voucher, a procedure which does not require the approval of the Civil Service Commission.

The committee called attention to one such instance when, on September 15, this year, back payments for the years 1912, 1913 and 1915, amounting to over \$11,000, were approved by the board. "Such approval," the committee said, "we hold to be in direct violation of the letter and spirit of the civil service law, of the rules of the Civil Service Commission and of the resolution approved by the Board of Education" (adopting civil service rules).

The committee also states that voucher payments to the amount of approximately \$4,000 were made last year to certain members in the Architectural Bureau and that an additional amount of approximately \$20,000 has been paid in a

similar way since the beginning of 1912. This, with the payments last September, mentioned above, makes a grand total of more than \$35,000 paid out in this manner since the beginning of 1912.

"The compensations thus permitted by vouchers," the committee says, "are made to employes without reference to the fact of their having taken the necessary examinations and of their being legally in the grades fixed by the Civil Service Commission from the time the increased compensation dates or of their being in the service of the Board of Education at the time the voucher compensations are approved. In one case, payment to an employe who has been dead for over one year is approved."

The practice of voucher payments was condemned in a report of the Civil Service Commission to the Board of Education last January, but this report, according to the committee, has been ignored by the board and the practice against which it was directed has been allowed to continue.

The seriousness of the expenditures involved, the committee points out, is emphasized by the reported deficit in the educational fund estimated at from \$600,000 to \$1,250,000. The committee says further:

"The failure to abide by the spirit and letter of the civil service law * * * has far more serious consequences than the approval of \$35,000 extra compensation. Such action demoralizes the public service and sets at naught the activities of the Civil Service Commission in its attempt to standardize and make uniform the compensation of civil service employes."

In conclusion, the committee urges the Board to rescind its action and in the future to adhere to the rules of the Civil Service Commission. The letter was signed by Prof. Horace Secrist, chairman.

A LIFE-SAVING CORPS FOR CHICAGO

Since the Eastland disaster, a water front survey and campaign of education for water front safety has been carried on in Chicago by the field agent of the life-saving corps of the American Red Cross, Mr. Wilbert E. Longfellow of Washington. On November 5, 1915, Mr. Longfellow spoke before the City Club. Mr. Longfellow's remarks, briefly summarized, were as follows:

"The United States drowns between 5,000 and 7,000 people a year, most of these drownings being in the preventable class. To this total Chicago contributed 154 in 1912 and 147 in 1913. There was an increase in the number of Chicago drownings in 1914, bringing the total for this city up to 179, the coroner reporting that it had been impossible to carry on a campaign of education in life saving. Since the Eastland disaster, with its tremendous addition to the average yearly drownings, the Red Cross, through its life-saving instructor, has taught practical life-saving methods to more than 6,000 people in Chicago.

"In my experience in the past fifteen years in studying life-saving methods I have found that the drowning problem lies largely with the casual, inexperienced bather, whose only chance for bathing is on week ends, Sundays and holidays, when free of employment. Poor swimmers go out in deep water and take cramps or through fright become submerged and are drowned.

"The remedy for this type of drowning is to train the swimmers to care for the non-swimmers and inexperienced swimmers. If the swimmers were familiar with resuscitation methods there would be a chance for recovery, but unfortunately, in the past, the knowledge of producing artificial breathing has not been general.

"The Red Cross has already instructed and started ten life-saving corps in Chicago, to be chartered by it before spring, the members being required to pass the Red Cross life-saving test. These life-saving corps or clubs should be maintained on city sites along the lake and harbor front of Chicago. New York City maintains a similar organization on its 410 miles of water front, keeping

up forty houses, dories, hundreds of life buoys, medicine chests, etc. Experience teaches us that men will give time and service to this sort of work if the buildings and equipment can be secured.

"The work in Chicago will require the hearty co-operation of the city and country authorities and organization. The Red Cross Life-Saving Corps will furnish the instruction if the city will assist with the stations and equipment. The city of New York appropriates \$13,000 for this sort of work, Rhode Island \$3,500, other places less amounts. Atlantic City spends from \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year for life guard service. The service in Chicago is to be in addition to the paid life guard service already provided—to supplement it on big days, not in any way to supplant it."

Mr. Longfellow stated that he had given instruction in life-saving methods to the police school in Chicago, to all the South Park police, and to thirty-one fire companies. He urged that more opportunities be provided for indoor swimming in the winter months—the pools in the public schools being the only ones available now without charge and these being open only to pupils.

Besides the educational work, Mr. Longfellow advocated an increase in the life-saving equipment along the water front. "It is not fair," he said, "to require a watchman or policeman to risk his life and spoil his clothes when a \$3.00 life buoy and line would obviate the necessity. A \$3.00 buoy will save a \$10,000 life and a woman or child can use it if no men are near in an emergency."

The National Municipal League met at Dayton, Ohio, last week. The following persons from Chicago attended: Miss Harriet Vittum, George C. Sikes, Edward L. Burchard and George E. Hooker.

The City Club of Milwaukee has just issued the first number of its new "City Club Bulletin." Other City Clubs having an official publication are New York, Boston, St. Louis.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF WESTERN CANADA

It is an often-noted fact of American history that the newer and less highly settled sections of the country have been the chief centers of radical democratic thought. Just at this time, certain types of radicalism find their chief expression in the northwest states and in western Canada. The movement for woman's suffrage, the very wide adoption of direct legislation and the progress of the land tax movement in these western communities testify to this fact. On October 22nd, Mr. Frederick J. Dixon, member of the Provincial Parliament of Manitoba, addressed the City Club on "Political and Social Tendencies in Western Canada." Mr. Dixon's remarks, briefly summarized, were as follows:

The problems of western Canada are really much the same as those of the United States. The liquor question, for instance, is now being vigorously agitated in all the western provinces, and one of these, Alberta, by referendum last July, adopted complete prohibition. A similar referendum is to be held in Manitoba next March.

In none of the Canadian provinces is there yet complete woman's suffrage or even any very large measure of it. The movement for extending the suffrage is, however, making rapid headway. In Manitoba, the party in power has promised suffrage on the presentation of a petition signed by women numbering at least 15% of the men who voted at the last election. Over 34,000 signatures have already been secured, 17,000 being the minimum required, so the success of the petition is beyond a doubt. The argument which exerts the widest and most effective appeal in the suffrage campaigns is the argument of democracy, that women cannot rightfully, under a democratic system, be excluded from participation in government. The fact that there is no organized anti-suffrage movement in western Canada indicates the probable success of the movement.

The granting of woman's suffrage, however, will by no means establish a democracy. The people must also be given a more direct control over their affairs through the initiative and the referendum. Although the Alberta law

is far from perfect, the people of that province have a fair measure of control over their affairs. The prohibition legislation mentioned above was the first to be passed under this law. Friends of direct legislation hope to secure similar legislation in Manitoba at the next session of Parliament. Both parties in Alberta and Saskatchewan are pledged to it, neither daring to oppose.

To secure a really democratic government, however, we must go a step farther—we must secure economic freedom for citizens. It is for this reason that the land-value tax movement has secured so large a following in the western provinces. It is generally assumed that these great provinces provide a vast wilderness of unoccupied land open to the settler and that the land problem there is not acute. The contrary is true. Of 153,000,000 acres of agricultural land in the three prairie states (Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan) over 100,000,000 are in the hands of speculators. In addition to this, the possession of mining and other lands by speculative interests creates a serious problem.

In the four western provinces the land-value tax has progressed to such an extent that no taxes whatever are assessed on the farmers' improvements. The idea is also now taking hold of the cities and the question is asked why that which is good for the farmer is not also good for the manufacturer and the city dweller?

The progress in the cities has been very rapid. Vancouver is now an outstanding example. In 1895, Vancouver reduced the tax on improvements 50%; in 1905, 25% more, and in 1910 placed the entire burden of taxation on the land. The result was that many of the old shacks which had disgraced the city disappeared and important business blocks took their places. Opponents of the tax have claimed that the town was overbuilt, but the friends of the measure are entirely satisfied with the results. Rents have been cut down, business stimulated and a very large amount of labor employed. An evidence of the success of the tax is that the cities of New Westminster and Victoria after watching the

operation of the system in Vancouver adopted it.

In Saskatchewan, local option in municipal taxation prevails and nearly all the cities have a lower rate on improvements than on land. They are, moreover, gradually working toward complete elimination of the tax on improvements.

Manitoba has been in a less fortunate position than the other provinces because it has had to deal with a reactionary government. A new party, however, is now in control and the many towns which have heretofore applied for the right to adopt the land tax have hopes that their requests may now be granted.

Alberta has carried the land tax principle farther than the other provinces. The raising of municipal revenues by land taxation has been made compulsory—all municipalities must raise their revenues by taxation of the land. Alberta has adopted a sur-tax, under which land that is left idle is taxed at a higher rate than land which is improved. There is also in that province an unearned increment tax by which the government

at the time of the sale takes 5% of the increase in value.

The way in which the exemption of improvements operates is indicated by the experience of a certain small town. Before the tax law went into effect, if a working man in this town wanted to build a home he had to pay at least \$1,500 for a lot. The tax so reduced the value of the land that the railroads that owned it were willing to sell for as low as \$500 a lot, and the building of homes was thereby very greatly stimulated. The town was built up more compactly and the cost of improvements was reduced because it was not necessary to extend sewers and similar utilities so far into the country.

The removal of the tax on improvements and the increase in the burden on land has not caused a revolution or any tremendous upheaval of business. It has, however, been responsible for the growth of certain very desirable tendencies in the way of reduced rents, increased building, increased number of individual owners and a larger measure of opportunity for those who wish to use the land.

AMERICA'S NATIONAL PARKS

The closing of Europe to tourist travel has brought about a very great increase in the popular interest in America's own scenic resources. With the added attraction of the two California Expositions this summer, there has been a very remarkable increase in the utilization of the national parks established by the United States government.

Stephen T. Mather, Assistant Secretary of the Interior and a former vice-president of the City Club of Chicago, spoke before the Club November 15th on the National Parks of America. Mr. Mather's chief work in the Interior Department is the administration of the national parks. He was introduced at the City Club meeting by Walter L. Fisher, Secretary of Interior under President Taft.

One of the most important features of the recent work of the department, said Mr. Mather, has been the opening up of roads within or to the parks. The government is now constructing a great

road over the Sierras in the Yosemite, which will open up to travel many points of interest which have never before been accessible to the traveler. A new road has also been surveyed to the Mt. Ranier National Park on the northwest side of the mountain and an effort is being made to secure an appropriation for the construction of this road. If it is built, it will open up some sections of the park which have heretofore been closed except to the most hardy trampers and climbers. It is hoped that at some future time there will be roads encircling the entire mountain.

Another step which the government is taking to open up national parks is the acquisition of old private toll roads throughout the parks as public roads.

Besides the roads within the parks or affording access to them, Mr. Mather said, there is at the present time an agitation for roads connecting the different parks. There is, for instance, a movement for the construction of a great

highway from the Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado across Wyoming to Cody and thence to the Yellowstone Park.

Until last summer, Mr. Mather continued, motor vehicles were excluded from the national parks. Yellowstone Park was opened up to such vehicles the first of last August and since that time 980 machines have gone through the park. These cars have been required to proceed according to a certain schedule so as to prevent them from passing the horse stages, which are still the characteristic vehicles for travel in the Yellowstone. The government has so far derived \$7,000 in fees from these automobiles. There have been no accidents since the automobiles were allowed in the park and there seems to be no reason why the admission of such vehicles to the parks should not be made a permanent policy of the government.

Mr. Mather told of a very interesting suggestion which has been made in the state of Washington for the development of small road-side parks for the benefit of motorists. Motorists have sometimes found it difficult to secure camp sites along the roads where holdings are all in private hands.

One serious difficulty in the development of national parks, according to Mr. Mather, has been the matter of accommodations for visitors. This has been especially evident during last summer on account of the increased travel in the West. Yellowstone Park this summer, for instance, had 51,000 visitors as against 21,000 a year ago; Yosemite Park had 33,000 as against 15,000 and Mt. Ranier had 35,000 as against 15,000. The accommodations have been in the hands of private concessionaires and have in most cases been inadequate and of an extremely poor grade. The government is now trying to remedy this situation. At Paradise Park in the Mt. Ranier Park the government, on account of the poor service offered, has refused to renew the hotel concession to the individual who has held it for the last seventeen or eighteen years, and an arrangement has been made with business men in near-by cities to finance the building of a new hotel and camps in this region. Plans contemplating an ex-

penditure of about a quarter of a million dollars are also being perfected for a new hotel to be built in the valley of the Yosemite and three or four camps in the upper Yosemite country. Yosemite has in the past been the most neglected of all the national parks in respect to accommodations for visitors.

The government has in the past derived comparatively little revenue from the concessions in the national parks. Mr. Mather told of the efforts that are being made to increase this revenue. A profit-sharing experiment is to be tried in the Yosemite. After a certain return has been paid upon the capital investment, it is proposed that the government shall receive a fixed share of the profits from the concession. There is also a saving clause in the agreement under which the government may receive a certain proportion of the gross revenues in case it is found that the yield would be greater than under the other arrangement. Revenues derived from park concessions are devoted directly to the improvement of the parks.

The Sequoia National Park is the only one in which there is a power company. This concern, the Mt. Whitney Power Company, when Mr. Mather joined the service, was paying only about \$400 a year for its rights in the park. A new arrangement has been made now whereby from \$8,000 to \$10,000 is received from this source and this will likely be increased in the future. This increased revenue is to be applied directly to the improvement of the park.

It is the desire of the Department to acquire, if possible, the private lands which still exist in national parks. In the Sequoia Park there are considerable areas still in private possession, some of the best timber being located on these private lands. If in the future this timber should be destroyed, a wide gash would be cut through what is probably the finest forest area in the world. Congress is to be asked this winter for an appropriation of \$50,000 to buy up these private holdings.

Efforts are being made also for the establishment of some new national parks. An attempt will be made this winter to secure from Congress the passage of an act making the Grand

Canyon a national park. This, Mr. Mather said, should be done, as the Grand Canyon is one of the most scenic spots on the continent. One hundred thousand tourists visited the Grand Canyon last summer, three times as many as ever before.

Mr. Mather said that he believed very thoroughly in the creation of a National Bureau to organize and co-ordinate the

administration of the parks. Each park at the present time has its own governing statute, its own separate administration and its own individual appropriation, the amount of this appropriation being determined according to the influence of the local interests which benefit by the parks. A bill will be before Congress this winter for the creation of a National Park Bureau.

BETTER MEDICAL SERVICE FOR LESS MONEY

The outstanding fact about medical service today, according to Dr. Richard C. Cabot of the Massachusetts General Hospital, who spoke at the City Club November 4th, is that it costs too much money. Medical service, said Dr. Cabot, is good and cheap for the very poor who can get high grade scientific treatment free at the public hospitals; it is good and expensive for the rich who can employ a half dozen consultants if necessary; it is both bad and expensive for those who are neither rich nor very poor and who make up the bulk of the population.

The medical profession, Dr. Cabot said, is becoming more and more highly specialized. The physician today is expert in some particular branch of medicine, but he is not well qualified to diagnose and treat cases outside the field of his specialty. This specialization is going to continue, but it calls for a new type of organization on the part of the medical profession. The specialist who knows only his own branch and operates independently of other specialists cannot give the grade of service that the public needs and ought to have.

The University of California, according to Dr. Cabot, is making a very interesting experiment in co-operative medicine. Every member of its great student body of over 7,000 pays \$5.00 a year for the total care of his health—and he gets an extraordinarily good grade of service. The University employs a group of medical specialists at liberal salaries and each student has the benefit of the combined knowledge and skill of these men. The experiment at the University of California has been

very successful and points to the wider application of the principle of group medicine.

About two years ago, an experiment along somewhat similar lines was made in Boston. At Dr. Cabot's suggestion a group of one hundred men was formed, each of whom paid \$10 to a group of five specialists for a complete physical examination. The results were very interesting. Of the 100 men, all of whom were presumably in good health, 67 were found to be in need of some kind of medical attention. The eye specialist, for instance, found an incipient case of trachoma, which, if allowed to continue without treatment, would probably in time have caused blindness. Several cases of tuberculosis in the early stages were found.

The cost for the examinations was very small—each person received five examinations by specialists at \$2 apiece. On the other hand, the physicians, for the work of four afternoons, received \$200 each. The experiment was, of course, not complete because it covered only examination and not treatment.

There appears to be no good reason, Dr. Cabot concluded, why the principle of group diagnosis and group treatment should not be universally applied. The medical profession today is badly organized. Each doctor is in his own shop doing his own job without reference to the work of other physicians. A better system of organization among the doctors and on the part of the general public for medical service would mean better and less expensive medical service for the great mass of the people.

THE REDUCTION OF DISEASE

In the last quarter of a century in America, said Dr. Victor C. Vaughn, dean of the Medical School, University of Michigan, in an address at the City Club, October 25th, the average span of human life has been increased ten years. The man of forty today is as young as his father was at thirty for he has as many years of life ahead of him. The credit for this great advance belongs to preventive medicine, which, though of recent origin, already has to its credit the saving of hundreds of thousands of lives. It is Dr. Vaughn's opinion that fifteen more years could be added to the average length of life if people could be brought to live under conditions of sanitation approved by modern preventive medicine.

Dr. Vaughn said in brief:

The old idea as to the cause of epidemic diseases—an idea still held by many people—was that such diseases were a visitation of Providence or due to the work of devils or demons. It is said with probable truth, that from the first to the nineteenth century no book or manuscript which discussed epidemic diseases referred to them as anything else than as a scourge or punishment from on high.

Another widely held theory was that, where a large number of people suffered from a common disease, the affliction must find its cause in something common to all—some vitiating quality in the air or some exhalation or effluvium from the earth. Not longer than fifty years ago scientific men were still digging in the earth to discover the causes of certain diseases.

These theories were definitely knocked out in the last century by the work of Pasteur—one of the greatest men who ever lived, if service to humanity is taken as the test. Pasteur's experiments with fermentation, carried over to the study of epidemic and infectious diseases, showed the cause of such diseases to be the existence in the human body of micro-organisms, low forms of life—each disease having its specific organism. This work carried on by Koch and others gave rise to the science of

bacteriology, on which modern preventive medicine is based.

The results of these discoveries and their application in sanitary science is shown in the very remarkable reduction of the death rate in the United States. In 1880, the average death rate in the registration area in this country was twenty per thousand; in 1912 it was only fourteen. The death rate from tuberculosis in the same period was reduced 54%. Mr. Hoffman, the eminent statistician, estimates that, if the death rate in 1901 from tuberculosis had continued for ten years, 200,000 lives would have been lost. Preventive medicine thus has to its credit, in this one instance, the saving of 20,000 lives a year. The disease which in this country we have most nearly stamped out is scarlet fever. From 1880 to 1912, the death rate from scarlet fever was reduced about eight-ninths and it is now less destructive of life than measles or whooping cough.

When the history of the interference of the United States in Cuban affairs is finally written, its brightest chapter will be the work of Walter Reed, who showed that yellow fever is carried by the mosquito. The discoveries of Walter Reed made possible the wonderful sanitation of the canal zone by which the death rate in this most pestilential place on earth was reduced to less than that of Illinois, even though a large part of the working population there were negroes, whose death rate is notoriously higher than that of whites. Another great gain from the Spanish-American war has been our knowledge of how to control typhoid. In 1898, one out of every five soldiers developed typhoid, but out of 30,000 soldiers in a recent concentration at the Mexican border only three cases were developed.

Preventive medicine has not only decreased the death rate—it has increased youth, vigor, and efficiency and has lengthened the span of life. In the dark ages, the average length of life was only twenty years. Today in the United States it is forty-two years. In the last quarter of a century it has been increased by ten years, and, if the most advanced knowledge in regard to sanitation were

applied to the situation today the average length of life could be increased by fifteen years.

It is the goal of medicine to banish disease from the world. Man is first of all an animal and as such health is the first consideration. Good health is the basis both of intellectual development and of good morals. Only healthy people can make a great nation. Only within the last few years has the part which disease has played in the decline of great nations been understood. Malaria was introduced in Greece about 500 B. C. and for 2,500 years it has subjugated this country, causing the Greek to lose his intellectual pre-eminence and his energy.

To secure further advancement in the elimination of disease there must be greater co-operation between the medical forces and the general public. Intelligence on the part of the public is necessary in order further to reduce disease—not merely individual intelligence, but community intelligence. If a great city like Chicago were to relax its sanitary regulations for a few months it might be struck down with an epidemic like the great scourges of the middle ages.

The time must come when every in-

dividual will have an opportunity to live under hygienic conditions. The time must come when every home will be periodically inspected by a public health officer and no individual shall be permitted to live under conditions destructive of his health. Of course, we will hear the criticism that a man's home is his castle, but we hear too much about our rights these days and too little about our duties. Medicine is a community problem and must become more and more a state function.

In closing, Dr. Vaughn spoke of the work which the medical profession is doing today in the elimination of disease. Not money, but the doing of the work which is set for them to do, he said, is the motive force behind those who are carrying on this work. The American Medical Association, consisting of one-half of the 30,000 qualified physicians in the United States, is spending from \$30,000 to \$50,000 annually to teach people how to avoid illness. As yet, however, it is only the more enlightened part of the medical profession which is interested and the more intelligent part of the public which has responded. There must be, if this work is to broaden, a much more widespread intelligence on the subject.

THE SEAMEN'S LAW

On November 4th the seamen's law, passed by Congress at its last session, went into effect. This law was bitterly fought out before Congress and a movement is already on foot by the shipping interests to secure its repeal. On October 11th, Mr. Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seaman's Union of America, and original proponent of the bill, discussed its provisions before the City Club. He was introduced by Mr. Robert McMurdy. A summary of his address follows:

The seaman's law is designed to accomplish three things: (1) To give freedom to the seamen, (2) to promote safety at sea, and (3) to assist in the building up of the American merchant marine without the granting of government subsidies.

The condition of American seamen

ever since the passage of the fugitive seaman's laws in 1791 has been one of involuntary servitude. Prior to the passage of the seaman's act this year, treaty arrangements with foreign countries required our government to return to his ship any seaman who might desert while in an American port and American seamen were subjected to similar restraint in foreign ports. The American sailor, trained to American traditions of freedom and unwilling to place himself in a position of practical slavery, has, under this system, been practically driven from the seas.

The result has been the manning of ships with less reliable and efficient crews. This has increased the dangers of travel on the seas, for the human factor, after all, is the largest element in safety and the new law, permitting a large degree of liberty to the seaman and

improving his condition, will, without question, aid in safeguarding ocean travel.

The chief attack on the seaman's law has been on the ground that it would destroy profits and ruin American over-sea shipping. To destroy American over-sea shipping is like trying to kill a dead dog. Ship owners in testimony before committees of Congress have admitted that America has no merchant marine in the over-sea trade worth speaking of. The law, as a matter of fact, will have quite the contrary effect; it will build up American shipping by forcing foreign owners to pay a wage scale at which Americans can compete with them.

Foreign seamen who find wages in this country several times those abroad, if they have the right—which the new law gives them—to quit their ships, will naturally utilize that right and will force foreign vessel owners to pay American wages. Thus by equalizing wages and by depriving foreign owners of the advantage of their cheap labor, the seaman's law instead of driving American shipping from the seas will greatly stimulate it.

The desertion of a ship by its crew would, of course, be disagreeable both to the owners and to the traveling public. It was also disagreeable to the southern slave owners when their slaves were freed, but man's freedom is higher and more important than the mere convenience and comfort of any class of individuals.

The government, moreover, has a great national interest at stake in the manning of American boats by American seamen, for in a war America would need for its navy a large number of men trained to the seas. If the boats were manned chiefly by foreign sailors, the United States would be involved in serious difficulties.

The campaign which is being waged to secure the repeal of the bill before it has even gone into operation is an insult not only to Congress, which passed the bill, but to the president, who, after careful consideration, signed it. The subject had been studied for twenty years by Congress before the bill became a law and Congress undoubtedly knew

what it was about when it passed the bill. The campaign which is being waged against it is in the interest of, not American shipping, but foreign vessel owners who are trying to influence American opinion through their American partners.

The allegation that American shipping is already leaving the seas on account of the passage of the seaman's law is unfounded. For instance, it has been alleged that the recent sale of the Pacific Mail was due to the seaman's law. An officer of this line, however, testified to a committee of Congress over two years ago that his company was going out of business on account of the passage of the Canal Act, prohibiting the use of the canal by railroad owned vessels. The reason now assigned for the sale is the passage of the seaman's law.

Another case cited is the sale of a couple of tramp boats—one to a Chinese firm, another to a firm in Seattle—by a certain Captain Dollar. These boats were under the English flag prior to the war and were manned by English officers and Chinese crews even after they were placed under the American flag. The transfer of one of these boats to another flag can hardly be considered a blow at American shipping.

One section of the law relates to safety on the great lakes. The original provision was very much mutilated through the efforts of the lake vessel owners, who alleged in support of their position that very few accidents had happened to passenger vessels on the lakes. The law requires that life boats be provided for only 20% of the capacity of the ship and rafts for 30%, leaving 50% unprovided for except with life belts. That life belts are of almost no use is shown by the loss of life on the Empress of Ireland. The nine square feet of deck space for each person, the present allotment on lake boats, which is not changed by the new law, does not even allow a passenger to sit down. If the amount of space—sixteen square feet—required on ocean-going boats were also required for lake boats, another Eastland disaster would be impossible.

Mr. Furuseth was asked about the language test required under the seaman's law. The purpose of this requirement, Mr. Furuseth said, was to

enable officers to communicate directly with their men in case of a disaster. To have vessels manned by crews speaking different languages would be equivalent to having a fire engine crew made up of men who could not understand the orders given them by their superiors. The law does not mean that only English should be spoken, as ships officered by Japanese would have to be manned with Japanese sailors and with German sailors on ships

officered by Germans. Japanese vessels, under this provision of the bill, would find it more difficult than vessels of other nations to replace any sailors that might quit, for the reason that Japanese sailors are not plentiful in American harbors. That is a condition which certainly will not give the Japanese vessels any advantage over others, as some of the opponents of the new law claim they will have.

BUSINESS PROSPERITY AND THE WAR SETTLEMENT

American business conditions are bound to be vitally affected by the terms of settlement of the great war. For this reason, said Mr. Edward Filene of Boston, speaking at the City Club, Thursday, November 18, we ought by all means to look ahead and endeavor to forecast the future to determine what the effects of the settlement will be. Mr. Filene said, in part:

"If this war is settled, as all previous wars have been, without providing for some means other than war for dealing with international disputes, there will be added to its enormous charges the still greater continuous charges due to rivalry in armaments and other preparations for the next war. Under such conditions, we are forced to believe that the European nations, after the war, will be faced with the insistent need for re-establishing their industries at almost any sacrifice in order to keep up in the race for armaments and to obtain means for settling their debts so as to keep their credit good for the next war.

"Predictions by students of affairs already abound that these necessities will cause them to make sacrifices of natural profits, lower their scale of living, and so create competition of unexampled severity—a competition which also would be particularly ominous for our higher-wage market, that so far has suffered least. European sellers not being able to realize a profitable price will return home and reduce their cost of living and the wages of their employees to a point where the prices they have been able to get will again become profitable. Every indication points to the fact that the United States will suffer more

severely than any other country in the world from this forced export of goods.

"Under conditions approximating, even those such as I have been indicating, it becomes apparent that we are likely to have in this country great industrial unrest with the accompanying strikes and lockouts; for competition on the basis that seems probable will force United States manufacturers in turn to try to reduce their cost of production. The importance of a right settlement thus becomes clearly evident.

"We come, therefore, to the basic questions: 'What is a right settlement?' A close study of the history of wars and governments will show the governments have been tending to a substitution of law for war. Within nations we have already achieved it. Internationally we must establish it if we are to have stable conditions for the development of civilization. The world has now reached the stage where it will be for the selfish interest of the warring nations to favor the substitution of law for war to the greatest practical degree, in order that they may avoid the same fate that befell the Balkan states when, after having won the victory, they made war among themselves over the terms of settlement.

"The statesmen of the world, the internationalists and thinking men of the world, are almost unanimous as to what the machinery for the substitution of law for war should consist of, but the experience of the last 100 years with its hundreds of broken treaties, the experience of this war with its violation of international law and national rights, have made practical business men who hold themselves responsible for reasonable prog-

ress, unwilling to deal with any possible remedy which has not sufficient force behind it for its enforcement.

"Military measures are by some considered to be the only effective ones, but there are very great dangers involved in such a course. A committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States unanimously recommends that economic non-intercourse should be used against a recalcitrant nation in the first place, to be followed by military pressure only if such economic pressure proves ineffective.

"It has been said that economic pressure will be more expensive than military measures. On the contrary, it is to be remembered that military force includes the economic boycott always. No nation goes to war without enforcing non-intercourse against its enemy. Economic pressure does not, however, necessarily include military force. In fact it will, in many cases, in my opinion, preclude the necessity for military measures. In such cases, at least, it will be far less expensive than military force would be if used in the first instance.

"I am not claiming that the economic boycott will prevent all war. I believe that there must be a chance for ultimate appeal to military force when actual aggression is committed by one signatory nation upon another. But I think that

many people who do not believe in the use of military measures under any circumstances will be willing to agree to its ultimate use if a provision is made for a trial of economic pressure first.

"If the allied warring nations of Europe fail for any reason to become part of such an agreement they will be faced with the danger of a second war over differences among themselves as to the terms of settlement.

"It is a great opportunity for the United States, for without assistance of the United States there would be a far greater chance of failure. This war has proven that the basis of victory is the supply of arms, ammunition, and the other necessities of war. No other country of the world is so well able or safely situated as is the United States for supplying these needs in the vast quantities that modern warfare requires; therefore its co-operation is fundamentally essential in any successful movement to substitute law for war.

"Under the initiative of our country I believe this greatest step forward in civilization will be assured. This goal of averting a disastrous world-wide economic war and new military wars at the end of this war, by helping to substitute law for war, is the most necessary, the highest and the finest that duty has ever called upon us to attain."

The new sixteen-story club house of the Boston City Club at Ashburton place and Somerset street built at a cost of about \$750,000, is reported to be one of the finest club buildings in the country.

The dining rooms in the new house have a total seating capacity of 2,000, including 550 in the main dining room and 230 in the grill. There are sixty bedrooms ranging in price from \$25 to \$45 per month. The Club contains two very fine galleries for art exhibitions, library and reading room, lounging room and a large audience hall. There is a large billiard room and six bowling alleys.

It is estimated that the annual cost of operating the club will be \$90,000. The membership of the club is 5,200.

The eleventh annual convention of the American Civic Association will be held at Washington, D. C., December 28-31, in conjunction with the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress.

A leaflet recently issued by the New York Training School for Community Center Workers urges that the School Social Centers should, so far as possible, be self-supporting. "Only with the development of fiscal responsibility," says the leaflet, "and some measure of local fiscal control does self-government become a pregnant reality in community centers." This suggestion accords with the recommendations of the citizens' conference on play and recreation, published in this issue of the Bulletin.

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DEC 18 1915

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VIII

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1915

NUMBER 8

THE CIVIL SERVICE CRISIS

From time to time since the beginning of the new city administration, charges have been made of serious violations of the spirit and letter of the Civil Service Law. The new Civil Service Commission was appointed by Mayor Thompson, April 26, 1915, with Capt. Percy B. Coffin as chairman. On May 7th a number of members of the Efficiency Division in the Civil Service office were laid off by the commission and later other incidents occurred—removals, cancellation of eligible lists, temporary appointments, etc.—which gave rise to much adverse comment on the work of the commission.

On August 30th the Civil Service Reform Association addressed a letter to the Mayor setting forth a number of alleged violations of law and demanding on the basis of these charges the removal of the commission. Later, after a published statement by the Mayor attacking the Association, another letter was sent to him by that body asking for answers to forty-seven specific questions in regard to alleged violations of the Civil Service Law. Neither of these communications was answered and on October 25th the secretary of the Association was denied access to the records of the Civil Service Commission. The charges were also presented to the City Council and referred to the Finance Committee for consideration. Two suits have been started against the commission on account of removals and one of these, the only so far decided, resulted adversely to that body.

In order that the facts about the Civil Service situation might be brought out, a series of three discussions was held before the City Club on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, November 29th and 30th and December 1st. President Coffin, of the Civil Service Commission, was

invited to participate but declined, stating that he would be glad to be present if the commission were not at the present time burdened with a great deal of work and "if circumstances did not provide a certain tenseness of conditions."

At the Monday meeting Francis X. Busch, of the Civil Service Reform Association, addressed the Club on "Six Months of Civil Service Under the New City Administration." He summarized—without comment—the facts upon which the charges were founded, with a specification of names, dates and documents and quotations from the law.

On Tuesday Edgar A. Bancroft discussed the "Big Issues Involved," the menace to the public service of a dishonest administration of the laws.

On Wednesday State's Attorney MacLay Hoyne spoke on "Civil Service and the States Attorney's Office." In introducing Mr. Hoyne, Lessing Rosenthal, the chairman, cited sections of the criminal code which had apparently been violated and the relation of the State's Attorney to such violations. Mr. Hoyne stated in a brief address that he had no knowledge of infractions of the law, and that except in two instances no evidence of such infractions had ever been presented to him. His remarks were followed by a vigorous discussion from the floor in which Mr. Busch, having offered to present such evidence, Mr. Hoyne indicated that he would be willing to consider any information that might be submitted to him.

Following the discussion and Mr. Hoyne's expression of willingness to hear evidence in support of charges against the commission, the directors of the City Club and certain members who had detailed knowledge in regard to the alleged violations and their legal aspects

held two meetings to consider what if any action in the matter the Club might wish to take. Since, however, the Finance Committee of the City Council was considering these charges, the directors decided to hold the subject in abeyance awaiting such action as the Council might wish to take.

The Finance Committee later adopted a report sustaining the charges of the Civil Service Reform Association and holding "that Percy B. Coffin and Joseph P. Geary have violated the civil service laws of the State of Illinois, governing cities." The recommendation of the committee was: "That the state's attorney of Cook County be requested to investi-

gate the charges contained in this report and proceed according to law and that pending this investigation and prosecution if any, the Mayor be requested to suspend Percy B. Coffin and Joseph P. Geary as members of the civil service commission." This report was presented to the City Council and on Friday, December 10, was adopted by that body by a vote of 44 to 20. The Mayor has vigorously backed up the Civil Commission in newspaper interviews. Previous to the adoption of the Council's report he announced that he has no authority to "suspend" the Commissioners.

A full report of the discussions at the City Club is printed below.

SIX MONTHS OF CIVIL SERVICE UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Busch in his opening remarks at the meeting of November 29th said that he would confine himself to a statement of facts, leaving the conclusions to his hearers. He then took up certain specific instances of alleged violations of the law:

Francis X. Busch

The Efficiency Division

"The first conspicuous case to which I wish to call attention is in connection with the Efficiency Division in the office of the Civil Service Commission. It is, perhaps, needless for me to state that the Efficiency Division, as an adjunct to a successful civil service administration, has already proven its worth. The old practice of determining the efficiency of employes by promotional examinations and giving markings for efficiency was unsatisfactory and depended largely upon the whim of the bureau or department head. It has been part of the work of the Efficiency Division to substitute a comprehensive, thorough, intelligent and accurate system for keeping track of efficiency. As a result of its efforts, the entire service has been standardized, not according to salary, but according to duties performed. The work of the division has already been commented on, I believe, at this Club.

"When the present Civil Service Commission came into office, examinations had been held for members of this Divi-

sion—for examiners of efficiency clerical and examiners of efficiency technical. Promotional examinations had been held and from the promotional list the positions of experts on system and organization were filled. All of the members of the Division were working as the result of regularly held civil service examinations.

"On May 7, 1915, the following experts of efficiency, Mr. Flanagan, Mr. Hiller, Mr. Hackathorne, Mr. Meyers, Mr. Kurzon and Mr. Christensen, duly appointed under the civil service law, regularly appropriated for, were laid off by the City Civil Service Commission. The order laying them off stated that this action was taken because of lack of work and of lack of funds.

"On July 13, 1915, F. A. Beifeld and F. A. Becker were appointed as examiners of efficiency by the Civil Service Commission. This is the language of the order appointing them: 'F. A. Beifeld and F. A. Becker are hereby designated examiners of efficiency at a salary of \$2,160 per annum, payable out of appropriations made for that purpose, *to hold office during the pleasure of the Commission.*' These men were to hold the same title as the men whose names I have mentioned and were to be paid out of exactly the same appropriation. Note that the language of the order is 'to hold office during the pleasure of the Commission.' Such an order, I think we can

say without contradiction, is absolutely out of harmony with and in violation of the civil service law, under which men can be appointed by the Commission only after examination in pursuance of the law, or as temporary appointees, pending examination or to take care of some particular emergency.

"On July 15, 1915, H. C. Matz was appointed in the same language used above, and on July 19, under the head of 'temporary authorities,' we find a record of the appointment of 'three examiners of efficiency, clerical, and two examiners of efficiency technical.' Thus in all seven men were appointed to take the places of the men who had been laid off. On August 11 the order of July 19 was repeated, thereby perpetuating these men in office. On September 4, 1915, the order was again repeated, except that the order was issued 'pending determination by court as to the legality of eligible list.' This statement four months after the renewals had taken place and obviously an afterthought, was the first suggestion in the records of the Commission that there was anything wrong with the eligible list, from which Flanagan, Hiller and the others had been previously certified. At our last information, all these men, F. A. Beifeld, F. A. Becker, H. C. Matz, and the three or four others, were working as examiners of efficiency under the same title and being paid at the same rate out of the same appropriation that covered these former civil service men who have been laid off for lack of funds and lack of work.

"I say 'at our last information' because it is a matter of common history. I guess, that at a recent date the Civil Service Commission denied access to its records to the Civil Service Reform Association, and to any other agency through which we were in the habit of getting detailed information.

"I understand that the Law Department of the city advances as one of their defenses that none of the positions in the Efficiency Department were legally created, because there was no valid provision in the civil service law by which an appointment could be made for such offices. The language of the law is that in cities of over 100,000 the Civil Service

Commission may incur expenses not to exceed \$5,000, and a subsequent section of the law expressly provides that the City Council may appropriate sufficient sums to carry out the provisions of the civil service law. But the city's lawyers claim that, there being no valid appropriation for the Efficiency Division, that division being a part of the Civil Service Commission, the positions could not be legally created. Without going fully into the merits of that contention, which is susceptible of considerable argument, the Legislature at the last session amended the civil service law by expressly providing that the appropriation for the Civil Service Commission should be such sum as the City Council may appropriate and that any appropriation made for the fiscal year was legalized. So it is difficult to see any merit in that point.

The Jacobs Case

"On May 8, 1915, J. L. Jacobs, who held a promotional position as expert of system and organization in the Efficiency Division, a position carrying a salary of \$291.66 a month, was laid off. That order was specific: He was laid off pending investigation. No investigation, however, and as far as I am informed, no *pretense* of any investigation was ever made.

"On June 5th the Commission entered the following order:

"WHEREAS, The Commission did on May 8, 1915, enter an order, 7449 K, suspending Jacob L. Jacobs, expert on system and organization, salary \$291.66 2/3 per month, pending investigation,

"AND, WHEREAS, Said investigation is in progress and incomplete,

"AND, WHEREAS, The period of suspension of the said Jacob L. Jacobs expires by operation of law on June 7th, 1915,

"IT IS THEREFORE ORDERED, That Jacob L. Jacobs be restored to duty;

"AND IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, That he be laid off as of June 8th, 1915, on account of lack of funds;

"AND IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that his name be returned to the eligible list from whence it came, and that no salary be allowed the said Jacob L. Jacobs during the thirty-day period of suspension nor during the period of time his name remains upon the eligible register awaiting reinstatement.

"AND IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that the position of expert on system and organization, salary \$291.66 2/3, be and the same is hereby abolished."

(Laughter.)

"On July 19, a little over a month after the order I have read to you was issued, the Civil Service Commission, under the head of 'temporary authorities' appointed E. H. Davenport 'expert on system and organization,' to the same position that Jacobs formerly held. Mr. Davenport is still filling that position, discharging the same duties that were performed by Mr. Jacobs, under the same title, and drawing his salary from the same appropriation. On August 11 and again on September 4 Mr. Davenport was reappointed. Mr. Jacobs has filed a petition in court for mandamus, and this case will shortly be determined.

The Blachly Case

"C. D. Blachly was superintendent of the Bureau of Social Surveys in the Department of Public Welfare. The examination given for that position was of the highest and most complete character, and Mr. Blachly, of a large number of applicants, was the only one who passed. He was certified to the position November 13, 1914.

"Of course, under the law, all civil service appointments are for a probationary period. That period had been fixed by the civil service rules at six months. On May 13, 1915, one day after his six months' probationary period had expired, Mr. Blachly was discharged. It was the contention of the Civil Service Commission and the mayor that Mr. Blachly was still within his probationary period and could be dismissed without any charges being preferred against him. The Circuit Court, however, has sustained the contention that it was one day more than a month. The order discharging him read as follows:

"Chicago, May 13th, 1915.

"Gentlemen: In accordance with Civil Service Rules, I make the following report respecting this department: *Surname:* Blachly; *Christian Name:* Clarence D. *Date:* 5-13-15. *Salary:* \$3,000. *Remarks:* Unqualified for the work, Superintendent of Social Surveys. *This is in accordance with instructions from Mayor Thompson.* See Mayor's letter May 12th, 1915. Approved May 13, 1915, Civil Service Commissions, P. B. C. Very respectfully, Leonora Z. Meder, Head of Department, Commissioner Public Welfare.

"Shortly thereafter Mrs. Meder wrote a very apologetic letter to Mr. Blachly stating that he was the most efficient as-

sistant she had ever had working under her, that she regretted that he had to leave the department, and that she was simply obeying orders. A petition of mandamus was filed in behalf of Mr. Blachly and a writ was issued to reinstate him. The Law Department of the city of Chicago are taking steps to perfect an appeal from that order and that is the present status of the case.

Police Captains' Eligible List

"The next case I want to refer to is the cancellation of the eligible list for police captains. On March 25, 1915, after a promotional examination that cost considerable money, an examination participated in by practically every lieutenant in the department, an examination that was fair in all respects as far as anybody has been able to learn, surrounded with numerous safeguards to guarantee its justice and accuracy, an eligible list for police captains was posted by the Civil Service Commission. That was a few days before the last election. By those who have investigated the subject it can be stated authoritatively that when the commission has held an examination and created and posted an eligible list, the commission possesses no power to cancel that list. They cannot even strike any name off that list except after notice and a hearing. That was the decision of the Circuit Court of this county in a similar case brought before it: the Heineck case. The same point has been decided in New York in *People vs. Cobb* 13 N. Y. App. Div. 56, and in *Lazenby vs. C. S. Com.*, 116 N. Y. App. Div. 135.

"On July 13, however, after the present commission had been appointed a couple of months, they entered an order cancelling the police captains' eligible list. Seven or eight police lieutenants appeared before the Civil Service Commission and complained about the manner in which the oral examination had been conducted. The oral test is a method employed in all promotional examinations to get at a man's readiness and capacity, to see what he thinks and how fast he thinks in a given situation. The complaint was that different questions had been asked different applicants. One was asked, 'What is a writ of habeas

corpus'; another was asked, 'Under what circumstances will a writ of habeas corpus be suspended'; another was asked, 'When will a person technically guilty of perjury be prosecuted for murder.' The questions were all of the same general character and the only complaint made was that they were not exactly alike. One other officer, a lieutenant, expressly protesting that he was not complaining about the examination, merely said that he thought he should have been given a little higher mark on the physical examination. The complaints were made by only seven or eight out of some fifty men who took the examination, and the Civil Service Commission cancelled the eligible list without any notification or advice to any other person whose name appeared on the list.

"On August 17, after considerable difficulty, a hearing was obtained before the Civil Service Commission. After the matter had been presented to them, the commission announced that they would have a further and full hearing—that they would call on everybody and that if it appeared from this hearing that the list should not have been cancelled, they would restore it. That was on August 17. On September 2, however, they proceeded to hold the physical part of another examination for police captains; the mental part of that examination has not been held. The further investigation has never been made.* In the meantime there are three lieutenants, so-called 'sixty-day men,' who are acting as captains, drawing a captain's pay.

"The hearing, as I said, was on August 17, but on August 13, four days before, and when Mr. Whitman and myself were protesting against this illegal cancellation of the police captains' eligible list, an order had been entered rescinding the cancellation order of July 13. The language of the new order was that the police captains' eligible list '*stand as an eligible list withheld from posting.*' I have been unable to determine what that meant, and I am frank

to confess that I don't know now. The list had been posted and how it could be considered as 'a list withheld from posting' is beyond me.

The Weideling Case

"On August 6, 1915, George H. Weideling, a sergeant, took an examination for police lieutenant and was No. 45 on the list. This was a promotional examination in which all of the sergeants participated. The promotion to lieutenant is most desirable, carrying with it increased responsibility, increased prestige and increased salary. Notwithstanding these things, however, forty-three of the eligibles on the list ahead of Weideling waived their claims to a vacancy for lieutenant.

"It was directly charged in the press at the time that those forty-three men were compelled to waive their rights by pressure and influence brought to bear upon them by the head of the police department. One man of the forty-four ahead of Weideling refused to waive. Nos. 44, 45 (Weideling) and 46 were thereupon certified to the chief of police and Weideling, under the so-called 'rule of three,' was appointed. Now, it may be said that this is something with which the Civil Service Commission had nothing to do, but I take issue with that statement. Section 14 of the Civil Service Law expressly provides that it shall be the duty of the Civil Service Commission to see to the proper enforcement of the law. If it is possible to appoint the forty-fifth person on such an eligible list, you might as well have no civil service at all. Can you believe that forty-three men will readily waive a right to promotion both in rating, responsibility and salary in favor of No. 45 without severe urging, at the very least?

The Rothenberg Case

"On August 3, 1915, Paul Rothenberg was given a temporary appointment as superintendent of sewer cleaning, an important position carrying with it a large salary. This is the same Paul Rothenberg of whom we have heard in connection with the vote fraud investigation and who is, at the present time, under indictment in the criminal court for perjury. The appointment was made in spite of the existence of an eligible

* The Commission lately, on December 3, 1915, held a hearing at which arguments were heard both for and against the cancellation of the list, and on December 8 rescinded their former action and restored the eligible list.

list of persons who took the civil service examination and qualified for the position. Rothenberg's predecessor, the present ostensible holder of the position, filled the position under the civil service. He was injured while on duty and has been out of the city service for over a year, technically on leave of absence, which is renewed ad infinitum while the position is filled by a temporary appointee.

The Case of Harry L. Jackson

"On June 5, 1915, Harry L. Jackson, regularly appointed as an investigator in the Public Welfare Department, was laid off, as alleged, for lack of funds or lack of work, and was put back on the reinstatement list. This would mean ordinarily that when work or funds were available, he would be returned to his position. On July 7, however, Jessamine M. Turner, who was not a civil service employe, was put on and paid out of the same appropriation from which Jackson was paid. When this matter was called to the administration's attention, they said they wanted a woman in that particular position. Their attention was then called to the fact that there was in existence an eligible list for investigators containing the names of a great many women who were anxious to get the job, and there was no reason why one of them should not have been appointed.

The Miller Case

"The next case I want to take up is the Doctor Miller case. This presents to my mind one of the clearest violations of the civil service law of any of the numerous cases that have been presented to you. Before the present Civil Service Commission came into office, an examination had been called for sanitary inspector in charge, an important position in the Health Department, paying \$2,100 a year. An examination was held April 18, 1915, and about twenty persons participated, most of them experienced civil service employes in the Health Department. The papers were not marked or at least the results have never been made public.

"On June 8, after the examination had been held, Dr. E. B. Miller was appointed under an order reading as follows: 'Dr. E. B. Miller has been ap-

pointed sanitary inspector in charge, and will be shown the respect and courtesy to which his position entitles him.' On June 11, 1915, the Civil Service Commission entered the following order:

"Cancelled Sanitary Inspector in Charge, Grade 4. Original Examination No. 2628 and Sanitary Inspector in Charge, Grade 4, Promotional Examination No. 2629, held April 18, 1915, it appearing that conditions in the Sanitary Bureau are such that better results to the service will be attained by leaving this position at the disposal of the Commissioner of Health for a limited time.'

"Shortly after his appointment, the suggestion having been made that he was appointed through the influence of his brother, who was city prosecutor, Dr. Miller, as reported in the public press, took pains to refute that statement in this language: 'No, indeed, my brother was not my sponsor. I got that appointment from Mayor Thompson in recognition of the work I did for him in the fiftieth precinct of the Thirty-third Ward. I went out and hustled to elect Mayor Thompson and I got my reward.'" (Laughter.)

Temporary Appointments

"The next subject I want to take up covers a number of cases that can be grouped together. Every man who has followed the workings of the civil service will, I think, agree with me that the temporary appointment abuse is the grossest abuse connected with the administration of the civil service law. The law never contemplated that there should be any large percentage of members of the city's force consisting of temporary or sixty-day appointments. I state that in view of the express language of the law, Section 10:

"To prevent the stoppage of public business or to meet extraordinary exigencies, the head of any department or office may, with the approval of the commission, make temporary appointment to remain in force not exceeding sixty days and only until regular appointments under the provisions of this act can be made."

"Except to prevent the stoppage of public business and to meet extraordinary exigencies, and barring the exceptions to the law contained in Section 11, everybody is contemplated to be under the operation of the civil service law.

"From May 1, 1915, to September 1, 1915, four months, 9,163 temporary authorities were granted in the City Hall. This includes renewals. The Civil Service Reform Association has been criticised because we did not say in a former statement that this figure included renewals. But the fact that it does include renewals makes the figures more significant, because the act provides for temporary appointments to be made for a 'period not to exceed sixty days' and then only until 'the regular appointment can be made.' Mr. Coffin in an answer to this charge admitted that there were 2,445 people working under temporary authority on August 31st, and that is in a service of approximately 20,000 persons. In Cook County civil service, out of a total service of 1,248 on August 31, 1915, there were 32 temporary employes; in the West Park Commission July 1, 1915, there were 24 in a service of 1,038 and most of these have been replaced by examinations held in July. In the South Park Commission on June 30, there were seven in a service of 1,406. In Philadelphia, according to their 1914 report, there were 86 in 10,000.

"The number of temporary authorities granted in the city service in Chicago, by departments from May 1 to September 1, 1915, was as follows:

Board of Local Improvements.....	102
City Hall Bureau.....	89
Engineering Bureau	3,612
Bureau of Water Pipe Extension..	722
Fire Department	13
Health Department	1,080
Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium..	494
Public Library	174
Sewer Bureau	3
Special Park Commission.....	299
(More than in all the other park systems in Chicago.)	
Street Bureau	1,826
City Comptroller's Office.....	13
Harbor & Subway Commission....	152
Public Welfare Department.....	26
Public Service Department.....	62
Police Department	116

"I want to mention a few of the conspicuous temporary appointments. I think that it is fair to refer the more conspicuous ones, because if the public service is going to attract persons who are qualified for the work, they must enter the service in view of the benefits that are going to accrue to them:

1. William Gregori, Third Assistant Superintendent of Streets, in charge of Street Repairs, salary \$3,600, appointed July 1, 1915, again July 21 and September 15. No record since.
2. Tim Flaherty, Chief Operating Engineer, salary \$2,880, appointed April 6, May 19, July 14 and September 8. No record since.
3. C. M. Atkinson, Captain of Police, \$3,000, appointed July 17, July 28 and September 22, 1915.
4. A. L. Denman, Captain of Police, salary \$3,000, appointed July 16, July 28 and September 22, 1915.
5. Fred Abele, Electric Supervisor, salary \$3,000, appointed July 1, July 7 and September 1, 1915.
6. L. F. King, General Foreman of Reduction Works, \$3,600, appointed June 21 and August 4, 1915.
7. Dr. E. B. Miller. (I have already commented on the Miller case.)
8. W. F. Russell, Lieutenant of Detectives, salary \$2,200, appointed May 10, re-appointed June 2, July 28 and September 22, 1915.
9. William Stocker, Assistant Transportation Superintendent, salary \$2,400, appointed May 12, 1915, re-appointed May 17, July 7 and September 1.
10. Guy D. Wooley, Special Ventilation Engineer, salary \$1,920, appointed May 10, June 9 and August 4, 1915.
11. Three Sergeants of Police, \$1,700 each, appointed on July 12th, July 28th and September 22, 1915.
12. One Sergeant of Police, appointed July 10, re-appointed twice, and there are two other sergeants of police appointed and re-appointed twice.

Charges Against McMahon

"The Civil Service Reform Association, thinking that it was only fair that the civil service employes should be represented upon the Board of Directors, some years ago appointed Mr. Bernard McMahon, practically selected by the employes themselves, as a representative member of the association. Within the last two weeks, Mr. MacMahon was laid off pending charges. Today we are in receipt of these charges. They read as follows:

"Failure to comply with the following paragraph of Section 5, Rule VII, of Civil Service Rules, in force March 22, 1915, viz: Par. (f) Conduct unbecoming an officer or employe of the city.

SPECIFICATION

"In that the said Bernard McMahon, senior bookkeeper, City Collector's office, as a director of the Civil Service Reform Association of Chicago, did some time on or about August 30, 1915, send or cause to be sent, a communication signed 'Civil Service Reform Association of Chicago, by Resolution of the Board of Directors,' directed to Hon. W.

Hale Thompson, and to the aldermen of the City Council, setting forth alleged violations of the Civil Service Law and asking the removal from office of the Civil Service Commission, as constituted at the time, viz., Percy B. Coffin, President, Edward C. Racey and Joseph P. Geary, commissioners. This is to the detriment of the service, inasmuch as the statements are not founded on fact but were intended to convey the impression that the commission showed either an utter disregard for the law or incapacity on the part of the commissioners, thereby hindering the constructive work of the commission, and causing unnecessary interruption in the administration of the Civil Service Law by taking up the time of the commission in refuting statements of this character.*

(Laughter.)

The Boiler Inspection Department

"I suppose you have all seen more or less in the public press about the condition of the Boiler Inspection Department. This department, as organized at the time the present administration took hold, had among its old employes eleven boiler inspector helpers who drew \$90 a month each. Some time in July, the head of the Boiler Inspection Department, Mr. Nye, appeared before the City Council Finance Committee and stated that he had a great economy in mind, that he could lay off the eleven boiler inspectors' helpers (all civil service employes), and put in their places four boiler inspectors, for which there was then no eligible list. These four inspectors should do the work of the eleven boiler inspector's helpers. The Council Finance Committee, in their desire to save money, thought that was a good idea and gave the authority. The eleven boiler inspector helpers were laid off and four boiler inspectors were put to work. Nothing was said to the City Council Finance Committee as to what pay these four men were going to draw, but, as I am informed, they were paid \$120.00 a month. Then some time later without authority from the Council or any one else, the head of the depart-

ment put on seven more boiler inspectors at a salary of \$120.00 a month. So, doing the work of eleven boiler inspectors' helpers at \$90.00 a month, there were eleven boiler inspectors at the rate of \$120.00 a month. It is obvious that this would exceed the appropriation, so the assistant boiler inspector, a civil service man, was laid off and the stenographer was laid off.

"From an article in the Chicago Daily News I have taken the names and addresses of the new inspectors and their occupations as given in the City Directory. They were said to be as follows:

Michael A. Casey, 6351 Drexel Avenue, Boilermaker.
Gus. Draeger, 1959 Courtland Street, Saloon-keeper.
Rudolph Esenther, 2123 S. Crawford Avenue, not in the Directory.
Charles H. Fitzner, 2027 W. 22nd Street, occupation not given.
Ely F. Flood, 3059 Warren Avenue, occupation not given.
Otto L. Follett, 239 Beethoven Street, occupation not given.
James E. Gaughran, 2321 S. State Street, Pressman.
Bert H. Hazelton, Manager, Room 46, 120 S. State Street.
William Herzer, 1445 Sedgwick Street, not in Directory.
Thomas M. Hurley, 1605 S. Clifton Park Avenue, Clerk.
William O. Krueger, 1948 W. 59th Street, Real Estate.
Louis Lambine, 2617 Hillock Avenue, former bill collector.
Benjamin F. McFarland, 5527 S. State Street, Boilermaker.
George Mambourg, 10306 Avenue N, Saloon-keeper.
John Rau, 5318 W. Harrison Street, occupation not given.
Edward J. Rea, 1218 W. 64th Street, Clerk.
Max Stange, 1219 Oakdale Avenue, occupation not given.
Frank P. Sitts, 2739 W. Washington Street, Machinist.
Robert H. White, 3119 Flournoy Street, occupation not given.

"In this connection, this might be said: Neither the Civil Service Commission nor the Boiler Inspection Department has authority to create a position, an office or a place of employment. That can only come through and from the City Council. These seven boiler inspectors last appointed were appointed without any authority from the City Council, and are working directly in violation of the law. The appropriation for the depart-

*Mr. McMahon's hearing before the Civil Service Commission was held Thursday, December 2. After a brief session which brought out the fact that Mr. McMahon, although a trustee of the Association, had nothing to do with the sending of the communication in question, the hearing was adjourned and on the following Saturday Mr. McMahon was ordered reinstated.

ment has been exceeded. I am informed that Mr. Nye stated, when his attention was called to this matter, that these men were put on as boiler inspectors—that he did not know the men—under orders from the mayor. I want to call attention to Section 208 of the Criminal Code, as follows:

"Omission—Malfeasance. 208. Every person holding any public office (whether state, county or municipal), trust or employment, who shall be guilty of any palpable omission of duty or who shall be guilty of diverting any public money from the use or purpose for which it may have been appropriated or set apart by or under authority of law, or who shall be guilty of contracting, directly or indirectly, for the expenditure of a greater sum or amount of money than may have been, at the time of making the contracts, appropriated or

set apart by law to be contracted for or expended upon the subject matter of the contracts, or who shall be guilty of willful and corrupt oppression, malfeasance or partiality, where no special provision shall have been made for the punishment thereof, shall be fined not exceeding \$10,000, and may be removed from his office, trust or employment."*

"These are some, and I will say the most conspicuous, of the violations of the civil service law under the present city administration. I have tried to set it forth to you as a history, a record of what has taken place, and cited the law when I knew it would be pertinent. I draw no conclusions. I ask you to draw those conclusions and I don't believe we will differ very much. The question is what are we going to do about it?" (Applause.)

THE BIG ISSUES INVOLVED

The second address in the symposium on the "Civil Service Crisis" was by Edgar A. Bancroft. His subject was "The Big Issues Involved."

Edgar A. Bancroft

"Offices for several hundred years in England were sold to the highest bidder; they were the perquisites of the crown and were used to supply funds for the sovereign. When party government came, as it did slowly, the ministers who supplanted the king in political power took over the offices as their perquisites. When parties became better organized, the offices were distributed by the party leaders. But all of this office-mongering—so scandalous, so contrary to principles of democratic government, whether under a monarchy or under a government like ours—was wiped out in England in 1870. Since then the English civil service has been entirely out of

politics—to the great advantage of every branch of public service.

"In the American colonies, the crown used certain important places for favorites. It was one of the crying abuses of colonial rule and when colonial rule was succeeded by popular government in America all the signs of the crown's government disappeared, and the public service under the constitution became absolutely free from 'spoils'; appointments were made on the basis of a man's fitness for the work he was to do, and his tenure of office depended upon his merit. No removals were attempted or thought of for political or personal reasons; and for the first forty years the total number of removals from federal offices was only seventy, not as many as have recently been made in Chicago under a fixed civil service and in violation of its spirit if not its letter.

The Spoils System in America

"In the United States, the Albany regency created the spoils system in the

*On Friday, December 10th, the City Council, by a vote of 42 to 22, adopted a report of the Finance Committee recommending the dismissal of Mr. Nye on the ground that he had "deceived" the committee and exceeded his authority, and recommending that the further question as to whether he had entered into a conspiracy to violate the civil service law and whether he had diverted public funds from the purposes for which they were appropriated be referred to the State's Attorney.

At the same session, by a vote of 44 to 20, the Council adopted a report of the Judiciary Committee recommending Mr. Nye's discharge on the grounds, namely, that he had "corruptly" sought to influence the votes of certain aldermen in the Council and had violated the civil service law, and further recommending that the State's Attorney be asked to prosecute him for attempted bribery and violation of the civil service law.

politics of New York and had made a good start toward the national politics when Jackson became president. Jackson was a blunt frontiersman of good qualities, but with not very much knowledge of government and not very much regard for law as the safeguard of human liberties and of the freedom that had been achieved and was maintained under our constitution. Under him began and flourished for many years the spoils system in national politics.

"The memories of some of us go back to the days when political conventions of all sorts, national, local and state—and particularly national conventions—were made up of office holders, controlled by the head of the organization. The scandal was so great that, even as early as General Grant's second term, he made a vigorous effort to root it out, because it was eating out the heart of the government. Instead of having even an efficient monarchy or an efficient oligarchy, we were having inefficient, corrupt, spoils-mongering committees, using the government and government offices as private perquisites. The abuses were so great and obvious that as early as 1883 a national civil service law was passed, a law, however, which was rather declaratory as a policy than effective as an instrument for the establishment of civil service through all departments. But it was a great beginning; it created the National Civil Service Commission. In the same year New York adopted a civil service law. In 1884, Massachusetts did the same, and then in 1895 Illinois adopted a comprehensive civil service law for cities, and the city of Chicago, by a referendum, adopted it for Chicago by an overwhelming vote.

Chicago's Situation

"Now, with that law on the statute books for twenty years, with that reform established in the national government and unquestioned for two generations in England, we stand face to face in Chicago with a situation—not, in one sense, to be compared with the situation that existed in 1895, for the offices have largely been taken out of politics and the policeman's chief duty about election time is no longer in controlling primaries and carrying precincts—but in

another sense worse. I say 'worse,' because the schedule of things that have been done in the last six months by the Civil Service Commission of Chicago, or with its permission, or without protest from it, have been done after twenty years of progress and in the face of a definite law that establishes the merit system—done by the commission which was selected under that law as its guardian.

"We read in the newspapers this morning of the need for a large number of additional policemen to protect Chicago—1,292. And we heard yesterday in Mr. Busch's talk of the cancellation of promotional lists and the defiance of every principle of the civil service law in the Boiler Inspection Department, the Health Department, the Welfare Department, the Police Department and many others. Is the protection of the health, the welfare, the housing and sanitary conditions of Chicago determined by the number of persons who are appointed and drawing pay in those departments? Is the safety of Chicago to be determined by the number of men who are drawing salaries in the Police Department or by the efficiency with which the duties of policemen are performed? And how will the addition of a large number of incompetent men, selected in open defiance or covert evasion of the spirit and the letter of the law, add to the safety of the city of Chicago?

A Crime Against the People

"There was a cartoon in one of our papers during the summer showing the great hulking brute of militarism sneaking up to a little cottage in the gray of dawn and taking from the doorstep bottles of milk that were placed there for the children. The spoils system in the Health Department and in the Welfare Department is stealing the milk of babes, is stealing the protection of the defenseless and of those who are entitled to honest and efficient service.

"Those of you who were here yesterday will remember about the economy that was going to be secured in the Boiler Inspection Department when eleven boiler inspectors' helpers at \$90 a month, appointed for efficiency and competency

under proper tests and examinations, were put out, only to be supplanted by eleven new men at \$120.00 a month, two or three of whom were saloon keepers, two or three of whom were not to be found in the directory and only one or two of whom had had any experience qualifying them for the work. Now when you employ a man who is not competent to perform the specific duties of his position, and put off the payroll an employe selected on the basis of ascertained fitness, you first rob the public treasury of the amount of that salary. An embezzlement of the amount of that salary would be recognized everywhere as a serious criminal offense.

Money Loss the Least Part

"But the money loss to the public service is really the least part of the offense. You are saying to every man in the ranks of civil service and to the young men and women who would like to get into the public service on their merits: 'The service that counts, the service that gets the dollars, is not the honest and efficient service, but political, partisan, personal service—pull and not merit.'

"Will there never come a time when politicians will have enough respect for the intelligence of the voters to regard the using of public funds through offices as of exactly the same character and degree of offense as using public funds directly—or even greater? There is no difference in morals or in law. (Applause.)

"Does anybody ever think of asking you or me to get him a position in private business on the basis of pull? Such a thing would not be thought of. The man seeking employment in private business knows that his chance of employment will depend upon his ability and character. The civil service law and the examinations are simply formal, ordered methods of determining efficiency and making it impossible that any other basis for appointment shall be used except fitness.

What the Merit System Is

"The merit system, I think it sometimes needs to be said, is not a fetish; it is simply the best method of accomplish-

ing a result—and that result *would* be accomplished if our public service could rid itself of the narrow and petty traditions and the narrow, personal, selfish ambitions that play so large a part in our politics.

"The men who recognize that the merit system has come to stay are made of two classes: There are first the perfectly disinterested, public-spirited, patriotic lovers of their country who wish it to be not only a free country, but a competent and efficient country, not a slovenly, wasteful, slipshod, extravagant, ill-governed and ill-governing country. They believe that public service is a public trust, an opportunity to serve which should be accepted in the spirit of trusteeship, with some conscience and with much courage and much ability.

"And then there is the other class of politicians who may be selfish, who may not be public-spirited, but are intelligent. Being intelligent, they know that a return to petty, peanut politics and office-mongering is an unwise and dangerous course.

"The men who cling to the spoils system or who think that it has a place in our public life are those who remain outside those two classes.

Spoils Politics and a Public Career

"There is no man in public life in America who is competent to meet the larger issues of American politics, to deal with it as an intellectual career and not as office-huckstering, who does not know that the civil service laws are directly in the interest of every such career. They free him, free his hands, free his brain, free his judgment, free his independence from all these annoying and degrading duties of peddling out offices instead of performing service. No large career can be built today in America on office peddling or office procurage. (Applause.) Such a practice is a corrupting of the public service with the public's own money. Lorimerism is just as disastrous to the public interests as it recently proved to a private banking enterprise.

"Think of this a minute: The national government under the new banking act, has established a vast banking system. The officers, employes, servants

in the twelve great regional banks are public servants engaged in public business. If the spoils system is good in the Welfare Department, the Police Department, the Sanitary Department, the Engineering Department of the city, isn't it a good thing for the Federal Reserve Banks? Everyone will see that the whole machinery will stop unless you organize it on the basis of efficiency and honesty. In Washington, in the old spoils days, there was with each new administration in all departments but the Treasury Department. Not that anybody had any scruples about the system, but it was understood that in certain departments there must be competent and honest men.

Our Danger from Within

"So civil service goes to the very center and core of the safety and the permanency of our government. You cannot have an honest, high class, intellectual administration of national laws and state laws permanently if locally the laws for efficiency and fair dealing are trifled with and flouted—and the people make no protest. We talk about preparedness, of protection against distantly apprehended dangers from without. Is there any man here who thinks there is a battleship in the world that could do as much damage to the United States as these loose organizations of buccaneers on the inside who corrupt the standards of public service and who defy the laws they are sworn to enforce. Our danger is from within, and it is a very real and obvious one, but it can last only as long as the people allow it to last, only as long as those who see what is going on sit silent and make no protest and take no action!

"We hear it said constantly that the person who has served the public for a long term of years should receive honor, compensation and praise when his term is ended. But how can that be true if the public service is not filled and carefully guarded by a commission which will protect it from those who enter by any other door than that of competency and worth? How can the people regard public service as desirable? How can a young man regard it as a career, unless there is a chance of promotion and recognition within?

Petty Politics by the Commission

"Can you imagine anything equal to the proposal by a commission charged with the duty of protecting the civil service laws of Chicago, to discharge Bernard McMahon because he is a member of the Civil Service Reform Association of Chicago and presumably responsible in part for its criticisms of the Civil Service Commission—an action which as one of twenty, he could neither have caused nor have prevented? Can you make a contest that is so fundamental and important to the public as the civil service contest, a matter for petty, personal spite? Oh, no! That does not and cannot represent nor have the approval of any man who has rightfully the word "Big" before his name. I predict the mayor of Chicago will never for a minute stand for any such petty performances as that. The question is too big to be played with that way. And if the chairman of the Civil Service Commission does not know it, there are others intelligent enough who do know it.

"The betrayal of a law like this by those charged to protect it, foster it, uphold it, promote its purpose, can very easily put a monkey wrench in the machinery, but I do not believe that any one who takes that course will find it attractive or safe. I do not believe that even the men who are office holders outside the civil service are blind to the fact that America is not safe unless she puts her governmental affairs in efficient hands—from top to bottom.

"Think of embarking on a great plan of preparedness, appropriating millions of dollars, without any organized automatic system of honest and efficient expenditure! That would be not merely a peril of wasting money, but a vastly greater peril to the defense of the moral standards, the moral courage and the ideals of the country!

Corrupting a Democracy

"We read of the inefficiency and of the terrible disasters in Russia, because official graft keeps supplies piled up on this side or on that side until the toll is paid. Official graft in one form or another works exactly the same under a republic as under a despotism—the

only difference is that under the despotism it can be made to cease instantly, and it may exist without the corruption of the great body of the people. But it cannot exist in a republic without the moral deterioration of the people themselves. Tell me how a republic can be saved except by the strength and cour-

age and manliness and patriotism of its citizens! How can it be saved except upon moral bases that hold the people together in a common impulse for efficient government, honorable government, equal government, and equal opportunity to all citizens, according to their fitness, to serve the government!" (Applause.)

CIVIL SERVICE AND THE STATE'S ATTORNEY'S OFFICE

The third meeting in the civil service symposium was held Wednesday, December 1, the subject being "Civil Service and the State's Attorney's Office." Maclay Hoyne, state's attorney, spoke and his remarks were followed by discussion from the floor. Lessing Rosenthal, chairman of the meeting, in introducing Mr. Hoyne, said:

Lessing Rosenthal

"President Taft, in delivering a speech on the Pacific Coast this summer, said that one of the serious things about the European war for this country, was that it turned away the eyes of our citizens from important domestic problems. Unquestionably this is true. Unquestionably we are overlooking much that is happening today in our municipal government. Unfortunately we are too much attracted by the interesting spectacles occurring from day to day in the great theater of war abroad.

"The civil service concerns us vitally. It has been shown to us that the law relating to it has been flagrantly violated. Who is responsible?

"The Mayor of Chicago, under the constitution and statute of this state, is required to take the following oath of office:

"I do solemnly swear * * * that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the constitution of the state of Illinois, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of mayor according to the best of my ability."

"Under Section 10 of Article II of the Cities and Villages Act, it is provided that the mayor

'shall take care that the laws and ordinances are faithfully executed.'

"I have searched the authorities in vain, to find that this applies only to the Sunday Closing Law. Indeed, my im-

pression is that the Sunday Closing Law has lain on the shelf so long and through the passing of the years has accumulated so much dust, that the mayor has found it a convenient 'cover' to draw down and shake out and let the dust fill the eyes of the people and cloud their vision as to the things that are actually happening in our municipal administration.

"It is well, therefore, that we have these meetings and open the eyes of the people to the violations of some other law.

"Who is responsible and does the law furnish the community any redress?

"Section 34 of the Civil Service Act reads:

"Any person who shall wilfully, or through culpable negligence, violate any of the provisions of this Act, or any rule promulgated in accordance with the provisions thereof, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars and not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail for a term not exceeding six months, or both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court."

"But this is not all. We have two other statutory provisions that are applicable. The first is Section 14 of Article II of the Cities and Villages Act, relating to the misfeasance of the mayor or other municipal officer. This section is worded as follows:

"In case the Mayor or any other municipal officer shall at any time be guilty of a palpable omission of duty, or shall wilfully and corruptly be guilty of oppression, malconduct or misfeasance in the discharge of the duties of his office, he shall be liable to indictment in any court of competent jurisdiction, and, on conviction, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1,000; and the court in which such conviction shall be had shall enter an order removing such officer from office."

"Besides, there is Section 208 of the Criminal Code, relating to the misconduct of public officers, which has a bearing on this subject:

"Every person holding any public office (whether state, county or municipal), trust or employment, who shall be guilty of any palpable omission of duty, or who shall be guilty of diverting any public money from the use or purpose for which it may have been appropriated or set apart by or under authority of law, or who shall be guilty of contracting, directly or indirectly, for the expenditure of a greater sum or amount of money than may have been, at the time of making the contracts, appropriated or set apart by law or authorized by law to be contracted for or expended upon the subject-matter of the contracts, or who shall be guilty of willful and corrupt oppression, malfeasance or partiality, where no special provision shall have been made for the punishment thereof, shall be fined not exceeding \$10,000, and may be removed from his office, trust or employment."

"You will observe, therefore, that the matter of the violation of the civil service law has certain criminal aspects. Before the adoption of our civil service law, thinking men had begun to realize that our republican form of government could not continue to exist under the spoils system; that the spoils system was sapping the vitality of our republic. The spoils system was associated with misconduct and corruption in public office, and with maladministration, and with misconduct and corruption in public office and with maladministration, a republic cannot endure. This was demonstrated in ancient Rome. That republic fell; other republics have fallen. Our United States can succumb as other republics have.

"If the civil service law has been violated—and we believe that it has—then the subject under discussion has criminal phases and the man charged with the prosecution of crimes in this community is the state's attorney of Cook County. The great power vested in him makes him, probably, the most important man in the county. He has been invited to address you today. I do not know to what portion of the subject he will address himself, excepting that he has been asked to deal generally with the criminal aspects of the situation.

"I have the great honor of introducing to you Mr. Maclay Hoyne, our state's attorney."

Hon. Maclay Hoyne

"I think my friend, the toastmaster, would almost have embarrassed me by his announcement of the text. When I was invited to speak here by Mr. Hooker, your secretary, I told him I never prepared anything in the way of a formal address, that I would be very pleased to come here and talk informally if I could say what I thought, and talk in a rather rambling way as I pleased, and he gave me permission to do that. I feel now, in view of the introduction, that I need to be somewhat more guarded in my remarks than I would otherwise have been, because I did not come here, I assure you, to make any announcement that I had in view the presentation of any evidence to the grand jury against any official or any particular person in private life.

"Since the matter has been brought up, I will tell you what I did, officially and personally, concerning complaints that have been dealt with in the remarks of your chairman. I have heard complaints. I had two men come to my office and complain that they had been illegally removed. Following that, within 24 hours, I received a request from the chairman of one of the City Council committees, asking that an assistant be assigned to attend one of the meetings and listen to such evidence or facts as might be elicited by this inquiry, or whatever this investigation was termed. It was reported to me that the facts brought out there were such as constituted a violation of the law, and possibly conspiracy. Now, the rest of the matters that occurred at that time you have read in the newspapers. I have been assured by one of the members of the commission, that the two men referred to—and those are all I know about, one man, by the name of Kiernan, whom I believe was foreman of the water pipe extension division, and Mr. Bergen—had been or would be reinstated. And I believe it was stated in Kiernan's case that he had not been actually removed, but that steps had been taken to bring about his removal in some manner.

"Now, I certainly believe in enforcing the civil service law. During the time I was connected with the corporation counsel's office, some years ago, I spent five years doing almost nothing else. I was succeeded by Mr. Francis X. Busch, my friend, whom I see here. I think he followed me in that line of work for the next two years. I am sorry I was not here Monday to listen to Mr. Busch's address.

No Knowledge of Complaints

"Now, I know nothing about the specific complaints referred to. What I mean by that is, that there have never been any complaints brought to my attention by any association or any individual, and I know nothing excepting for the two cases.

"Mr. Rosenthal has read you various sections of the criminal code. What I have tried to do during the time that I have been state's attorney is to indulge the presumption that every public official will perform his duty. I have been particularly careful, even in the case of a police officer, never to assume that he will violate his duty, although I have had considerable warrant to make such assumption. I have been very careful always to indulge that presumption, and very careful not to proceed against any public officer until the evidence was not only sufficient to warrant action by a grand jury, but probably sufficient to almost insure a conviction. I think that is the safest course. At least I found it so.

"As to any particular wide-spread criminal conspiracy, involving the head of the city government or anyone else, if it exists, I want to tell you I know nothing of it. I am ready to receive evidence against anybody who has violated the Civil Service law and when I receive it, I will treat it like any other evidence. If I believe a man has made a mistake, though he may technically be guilty, I would not want to see that man indicted. If I were to proceed on the theory of hunting up every man who was violating the law, we would have to build new penitentiaries.

"During the three years that I have been in office, we have often asked the prosecuting witness, in the case of first offenders, if he does not think a man

ought to have another chance. The only people that I have hunted—if you want to use that phrase—or prosecuted vigorously, have been habitual criminals or men of the world that knew thoroughly what they were doing.

Police Investigations

"Now, I became interested particularly in the present Civil Service Commission to this extent: Sometime ago, I made the charge publicly that a slush fund had been taken up in the Police Department. I will tell you why I made that charge, instead of dealing with it myself. I had previously tried and convicted Stine for taking up some funds for the purpose. As to the evidence in this case, if it warranted an indictment, I thought the matter too trivial. I believed it was a matter that belonged to the Civil Service Commission and the city government, and I particularly wanted to ascertain whether it was the policy of the city administration to permit the Police Department, especially the detective bureau, to array itself against the public prosecutor in any prosecution, even though that might involve, as it did, a policeman.

"I want to say I protested in advance against the assignment of Captain O'Brien to the detective bureau on the eve of the trial of his nephew, and I think the protest was a natural one. I think it is one that should have been heeded. When the first charge was made concerning this slush fund, the statement was made by O'Brien that the whole charge was a lie. Since then, he has said in the newspapers, and other policemen have said in the newspapers and other places, that, of course, the fund existed, everybody knew it, there was no secret about it, that it is all right and perfectly legal. Now, gentlemen, I don't know whether it is perfectly legal for a commanding officer virtually to coerce his men by appearing at roll call and telling them that they ought to contribute to a fund for a man under indictment. If that is legal under the present rules governing the case, the City Council ought to change the rules. That is another matter that I am perfectly willing to leave to the Civil Service Commission.

"But, as I say, I am somewhat embarrassed here because of the text laid

down for me, and I am rather glad that I have not had particularly brought to my attention any of those charges except against those two men, because if I had, I think it would be manifestly improper for me here, or at any other public gathering, to discuss what information I might have or what action I intend to take, in advance of taking it.

"I think I will merely conclude by thanking the chairman and the officers of your club for giving me the opportunity to come here and talk to you." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: "Of course, none of us expected the state's attorney to declare in advance what he would do. We simply wished him to talk generally on this subject, and I hope there is no misunderstanding among any of the audience. I am sure there isn't on the part of Mr. Hoyne. We want to discuss this subject in only a general way.

"However, Mr. Hoyne has seen fit to be very brief, more brief than we are accustomed to find public officers. And in view of that circumstance, the subject is now thrown open to the house. We have had three days of discussion, and we have learned a good deal about our Civil Service Law, how it is enforced or rather how it is not enforced, and the methods that are employed for the purpose of evading it. Of course, all of us will agree that some of the methods that have been employed here are so coarse, that the least the mayor could do would be to select some persons who would do the work more skillfully.

"I would be very glad to recognize any one who cares to discuss any aspect of this subject. Mr. Taylor, you have listened here very patiently. Suppose you say a word to us."

Prof. Graham Taylor

"We hear a great deal about preparedness from a military and business point of view, and it seems to me that we are ignoring it entirely in our civic and political and economical life.

The State's Attorney and the Law

"If the state's attorney is unaware of violations of the Civil Service Law, he must be about the only man in the city of Chicago that is thus unaware. He

may say that he is officially unaware. Some of us think it is his business to be officially aware of violations so palpable as were set forth here two days ago. From the Civil Service Commission's office I have received this very lame extenuation that, if there are so many sixty-day appointments, there are fewer under this administration than there had been under previous administrations. I fail to see how that is very much of an extenuation of the situation as it now exists.

"I have had a very great interest in the Police Department, knowing many of the commanding officers and many of the patrolmen, and it did seem as though the Police Department might be proven to be free from the attacks that are now made. But day before yesterday the names of two captains and other officers were cited as appointed absolutely in disregard of the civil service practice.

"I noticed in the papers, when the state's attorney was reported to be about to indict the Civil Service commissioners for certain things to which he objected, an agreement was reached, as the reason for his inaction. Of course, I don't know what credibility or authority this report has. It was to the effect that if the Civil Service Commission would cease putting out officials of a certain party or a certain faction of that party, there would be no further disagreement between the state's attorney's office and the Civil Service Commission. If that statement is at all authentic, it is a most extraordinary statement to come from that official.

"Mr. Busch has shown that, in almost any direction in which inquiry may be made, violations of this law are to be found—the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, the Health Department, the Police Department, the Department of Public Works, the Bureau of Streets. And, gentlemen, it is even down to the teamsters and horses. We must have so many Democratic horses and so many Republican horses. I, myself, even, have been asked to use influence for one kind of party horses or another kind of party horses. There seems to be a great deal of juggling going on in politics with the

teamsters. How far this thing is going on it is up to the public spirited citizens to say.

Politics in the Police Department

"Now, talking about driving the crooks out of Chicago: I would like to know when in this administration or any previous administration the crooks have been very much dispossessed, not only of their foothold, but of their power over three police stations in this city. I would like to know who has been in command of the Desplaines Street Police Station. Never the captain, to all appearances. Every better captain that has gone there has either gone to the bad and gone down to his ruin, or else he has been transferred 'for the good of the service.' Gentlemen, it is the John Brodericks, the Barney Grogans, the Mickey Conlins, the John Brennans of the Eighteenth Ward that seem to have had the police power farmed out to them there.

"And how about the East Chicago Avenue Station and the Twenty-second Street Police Station? I tell you, men, if we want life and property safe in this city, that kind of farming out of the police power in this city has got to stop, and the only way to stop it is by loyalty to this most fundamental of all bases for good government, the Civil Service Law of the state of Illinois. If it isn't satisfactory, then let us make it so. But, it is high time that this thing comes to an end and that such talks as we have had here shall end not in talk, but in action.

"I am sure you will bear me out in stating, Mr. Toastmaster, that you did not give me any notice of being called upon to speak. I would like to have had a little more notice."

THE CHAIRMAN: "Evidently you spoke very plainly and directly to us, and if you had had notice, you might have been more diplomatic. I am very happy you weren't given notice.

"Perhaps you might have told us, Dr. Taylor, about the role that has been played for some time by the various garbage teams in this city. Members of the Council have been told that unless they supported such and such measure, every garbage team would be withdrawn from their ward.

"I would be very glad to have some one else speak on this subject. I know there are many of you who are conversant with some phases of it, and if you have anything to say, we would like to hear it. Perhaps Mr. Busch ought to be given another opportunity to speak. He made a very excellent address here on Monday."

Francis X. Busch

"Mr. Chairman, I don't see why I should be given an opportunity to repeat—and that is practically all that I could do. I very carefully—to use the Chairman's word, 'diplomatically'—refrained on Monday from drawing any conclusions. I figured out that by simply stating the facts and by making pertinent reference to the law, you would save me the trouble of drawing the conclusions and would yourselves come to the inevitable conclusion that is presented by those facts and by sections of the law that were then and have today been referred to.

"I will say this, however. The statement made on Monday was a compilation of records and statistics. I deserve no credit except for the industry that it took to get those facts and figures together.

Willing to Submit Evidence

"I can realize that the state's attorney is a pretty busy man and that personal knowledge and official knowledge—or rather, personal rumors and official knowledge—are entirely different things. But, in order to demonstrate the absolute good faith of the City Club in the matter, I offer now to tender my services gratis to the state's attorney at any time or at any place, and to give as much of my time as he may call upon me to give to present the evidence of those violations of the Civil Service Law."

THE CHAIRMAN: "The meeting, after all, is bringing some results. Mr. Hoyne, when he addressed you, may have appeared to you as a very mild and in-offensive man, but I can state to you that he is really a man of action. He certainly has demonstrated that in the case of the Police Department and he deserves the thanks of the community for what he has done in trying to eradicate some of the viciousness and

rottenness from the department. It has been known by those who are well informed here, that the Police Department is honeycombed with vice, and we have a man now in the state's attorney's office who boldly and nobly has set himself to work to convict some of those men who have been guilty of taking graft and of grave offenses against the community. Mr. Hoyne also deserves credit for what he has done with men who have sought to loot funds that were perhaps private in a measure, but yet affected with a public trust.

"Now, if that course can be followed with bank wreckers and with looters of private fortunes, why shouldn't we be able to accomplish some results with persons who have been seeking to wreck our public government and have been looting the public treasury? Because, if you appoint a man to public office who is not authorized to hold it, and you do it in violation of the law, and pay him a salary to which he is not entitled, when, for example, you take a saloon-keeper and make him a boiler inspector—you are, to the extent that you take the people's money to pay a political debt, and to reward incompetent service, injuring the commonwealth and looting the public treasury, not to mention the other mischiefs such an appointment causes, the possible danger to life in the selection of an unfit boiler inspector, for instance, and the spreading of false notions among the people of what public office is.

"Mr. Hoyne has spoken to us so briefly, that he may wish to say a few more words in reply. I would like to have him do so and he may address himself to any subject he chooses. There is no limitation at all upon him, or upon his time."

Mr. Hoyne

Press Statements Denied

"I am very glad to have the opportunity of replying. I am surprised that Dr. Taylor should pay so much attention to newspapers, in view of the fact that he has contributed so much to them. I myself would not have supposed that anybody would have seriously considered the statement printed in some of the newspapers and to which he refers. The near-

est thing I have said approaching to what was printed was this: I was asked, as I started to Morris, Illinois, with reference to the civil service situation. I said I had advised Mr. Geary to resign from the commission, that I believed the law was being violated and that if the violations continued, sooner or later the Civil Service Commission, including himself, might be under indictment. I also said to him that he should remember that he was a minority appointee and that I thought some heed ought to be paid to the protest of the Democrats. I said that to him—and that was printed as being a deal. I never said that the only man entitled to protection under the civil service law was a Democrat. I think it might occur to you in the room who have had some experience, that in a Republican administration, the men most likely to be pushed out would be the Democrats, and they might be the ones to need the protection the most. I have had some experience in politics, as has Dr. Taylor, and I have usually found that where there are charges of a violation of civil service laws, it was a Republican Civil Service Commission that was charged with removing Democrats, and vice versa. Of course, the thing is too nonsensical to discuss any further.

Must Have Facts

"Now, when I said I knew of only two cases, I meant just exactly what I said, as I usually do. All I know about violations of the civil service law are the two cases that I mentioned. Dr. Taylor may have sat with you gentlemen in the City Club and discussed fifty violations, but that doesn't mean that I know anything about them. Nor has anyone come to my office with a complaint, nor, until a few minutes ago, when Mr. Busch made the suggestion, has anyone asked me to allow him to present any evidence to me of civil service law violations.

"As to rumors around the City Hall, the Criminal Court Building, and in the newspapers, I am too busy to give much thought to such things. I find those stories as a rule are instigated, or at least colored by the interest of the particular writer or the particular paper. I think we all know how newspaper articles are written. I am sure Dr. Taylor does.

"When you come to indict a man, to take away his life, liberty or property, you want facts. I do not believe that in that respect I am proceeding with any more caution or diligence or reserve, than any other man who has been in the same position. I do not believe any man should proceed with less than enough evidence to hold. Of course, in the last analysis, the question is whether I will prosecute Jones and Smith or whether I will take the A route or the B route, or which record is the most important, what is the most important thing to do—and the state's attorney will finally decide that question. The state's attorney has power to give immunity. He has power to 'nolle' a case after an indictment, and in the last analysis he will be the man who will decide how far he will go in the pursuit of a violator.

"I have never undertaken to shirk that responsibility and I never will. When it comes to the final question of what should be done or what should not be done, I will decide it. That is what I was elected for.

Willing to Hear Evidence

"I am always glad to engage in a discussion of this sort. If I had not been glad to be criticised I would not be here. If I did not want to get information, I would not be here, and if in respect to the different charges you have discussed, you have discovered anything definite that requires my attention, I will be very glad to meet Mr. Busch or hear from him in the form of a letter or a personal call, as he sees fit, to find out what he has and look into it.

"I think that is all I have to say to you, and I wish to again thank you for the second opportunity of talking to you." (Applause.)

On Thursday, December 2, the Civil Service Commission issued a statement alleging personal motives on the part of some of the speakers who had taken part in the discussions at the City Club, and on the following Sunday, in reply to the action of the City Council Finance Committee, recommending an investigation by the State's Attorney, the Mayor issued a statement supporting the Commission.

Since the discussions were held a number of important events have taken place affecting the civil service situation. The police captain's eligible list cancelled by the Commission on July 13 (see page 148), has been restored. Mr. Bernard MacMahon, suspended by the Commission on account of his connection with the Civil Service Reform Association (page 151), has been returned to his position after a brief hearing. The City Council has adopted a report recommending the discharge of George E. Nye, chief boiler inspector, charged, among other things, with violations of the civil service law in his department (page 152), and recommending further an investigation of his case by the State's Attorney. The Council has also adopted, as stated above (page 146), the report of its Finance Committee "sustaining" the charges of the Civil Service Reform Association against Captain Coffin and Mr. Geary of the Commission and recommending an investigation pending which the two Commissioners should be suspended from office.

The personnel of the Civil Service Commission, whose acts are reviewed in the discussions printed above, is as follows:

CAPTAIN PERCY B. COFFIN, Chairman, was chief examiner and Secretary of the Civil Service Commission under Mayor Busse from October, 1908, to May, 1911, a position then not under civil service. For a year and a half prior to that time he had been Superintendent of Labor Service for the Commission.

Captain Coffin took a leading part in campaign for the election of Mayor Thompson, and both before and since his appointment has been frequently mentioned in the newspapers as participating in conferences of the Mayor's political advisers. He was identified with the so-called Lincoln League, organized in 1911 by the Lorimer faction and of whose executive committee Mayor Thompson was chairman.

CHARLES E. FRAZIER, the other Republican member of the Commission, who was on November 5 appointed by Mayor Thompson to succeed Edward C. Racey, deceased, is a real estate man and a Thompson worker of the 33rd ward.

Dec 16, 1915

the political bailiwick of Fred Lundin, the unofficial dispenser of patronage for the administration. Mr. Frazier, from 1909 to 1911, was assistant city prosecutor assigned to the Juvenile Court.

JOSEPH P. GEARY, the Democratic

(minority) member of the Commission, was for the three years just prior to his appointment chief investigator for State's Attorney Hoyne. Before that time he had been in the cattle brokerage business at the Union Stock Yards.

SELECTING A SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

A new line of procedure for the selection of a school superintendent for Chicago was advocated by the directors of the City Club in a letter to the Board of Education, November 15, 1915. The occasion of this communication was Mrs. Young's official announcement that on the expiration of her term of office, December 8th, she would not stand for re-election.

It was the opinion of the directors that because Chicago has so much at stake in the character of its new school superintendent the School Board ought to seek the advice of the best qualified educators in the county in choosing him. They accordingly recommended that the Board form a committee of prominent educators to suggest to it names of competent and available persons.

This suggestion was given a hearing before the School Management Committee of the Board on December 2nd. Those who spoke in its behalf were Allen B. Pond, George H. Mead and O. C. Doering for the City Club; F. B. Johnstone for the Political Action Committee of the Union League Club, and Miss S. P. Breckinridge for the Woman's City Club.

Mr. Jacob M. Loeb in arguing in favor of placing the communication on file stated that he had heretofore introduced a resolution similar in principle; that the Board had not seen fit to adopt his suggestion; that members knew that they had pledged themselves to vote for Mr. Shoop; that Mr. Shoop would be elected superintendent and that it was too late to consider adopting the procedure suggested by the clubs for this pending election.

By a vote of 8 to 3 the committee refused to place on file the recommendation. A motion that the suggestion be reported back to the Board of Education without recommendation by the

School Management Committee was adopted by the same vote; after a substitute motion that the several clubs that had endorsed the recommendation be invited to submit names of any persons whom they recommended for the position of superintendent had been passed, reconsidered and withdrawn. Messrs. Johnstone and Pond stated that under no consideration would the clubs present the names of candidates for the position of superintendent, the recommendation of the clubs being based on the need for nomination by experts; but that the clubs would gladly tender their assistance in suggesting persons suitable for service on such an expert committee.

On December 8, John D. Shoop was elected superintendent by a vote of 19 to 0.

The communication of the directors of the City Club, which had been endorsed by the Western Society of Engineers and the Chicago Woman's Club as well as those clubs represented at the hearing, was as follows:

Chicago, November 15, 1915.

The Board of Education, Tribune Building, Chicago.

GENTLEMEN: Chicago has so much at stake in the character, training, breadth of view, capacity, and force of its superintendent of schools, that as citizens of Chicago we feel justified in presenting certain considerations bearing upon the method of his selection.

The position is one that has become increasingly technical. Pedagogy has become more and more an experimental science, for the application of which the superintendent of schools becomes responsible, as the head of a great body of teachers in a great variety of schools, carrying the youth of Chicago from the kindergarten, even beyond the four years

of high school if they desire, and as the responsible head of the principal and faculty of one of the largest training schools of teachers in the country.

While a purely theoretical pedagogue would be out of place in this responsible position, no man is qualified to fill it who is not at home in the whole educational experience of the country, that of city school systems, of normal schools, of schools and colleges of education, and that of other countries than our own.

On the other hand, no superintendent can adequately fill the position whose qualifications are solely pedagogical. The life of our children in school is not apart from the life of the whole community. It is intimately affected by the neighborhood and family life from which the children come into the schools, while its adjustment to community conditions determines in a great degree the success of the children's life in the community after they leave school. The discovery that crime is largely a phenomenon of adolescence has given still another social angle from which the education of our children must be viewed. The social importance of the backward child who was formerly forgotten, has suddenly loomed very large. The function of the school as a social center for the family and neighborhood, the school's share in fitting for American citizenship great numbers of adult immigrants, and the growing use of the night schools by adults especially for technical training, are indications of the demands which are not pedagogical, in the formally understood sense of the word, that the community makes upon the school.

To meet such requirements the future superintendent of schools in Chicago must have had a specialized training and he must have added to his equipment in his professional career. His experience must have been of a sort to show his ability to deal with the complex problems of a system of schools in a large city.

No board of directors in any large concern who had to find an expert for so difficult a task would undertake by themselves to pass upon his technical qualifications. They would seek experts' advice, and from the names, presented

by those with expert judgement, would make their appointment.

The principle is the same as that governing the selection of civil service appointees, only, when the place is so difficult to fill, and the qualifications so hard to pass upon, a more elastic system than that of the routine examination of applicants must be devised, the more so as the very persons from whom the choice should be made are not likely under our usage to make application. It was by a very elastic procedure that the present librarian of our Public Library was secured as a civil service employee. It is not the detail of the method that is of importance. It is of importance that the principle of civil service appointment should be observed, and this principle is that the selection of those from among whom an expert is to be appointed should be made by experts.

It is our earnest hope that the Board of Education will respect this principle by the appointment of a committee chosen from among superintendents of public school systems, men of national standing in the normal schools of the country and in colleges of education, and will ask this committee to present to the Board a list of educators whose training and experience in their judgment qualify them to fill such a position as that of the head of the Chicago Public Schools.

If we admit that the superintendent of our schools should himself be an expert and that only experts can pass competently upon experts, there would seem to be no room for discussion of the principle of the plan we have suggested.

It may be objected that in selecting men from among the expert educators of the country for such a committee, the Board would be depriving themselves of some of the very names which they should consider for this position. However, a number of first-class men among the superintendents of the country can be found, congenially placed and secure in their positions for a number of years, who would not be candidates for the superintendency of Chicago, and who, we confidently believe, would consent to serve in such an expert capacity. Men

of expert judgment and wide acquaintance with public school men and their achievements, who would also be outside the list of candidacy for this position, can be found in the normal schools and in the colleges of education in our state and other universities.

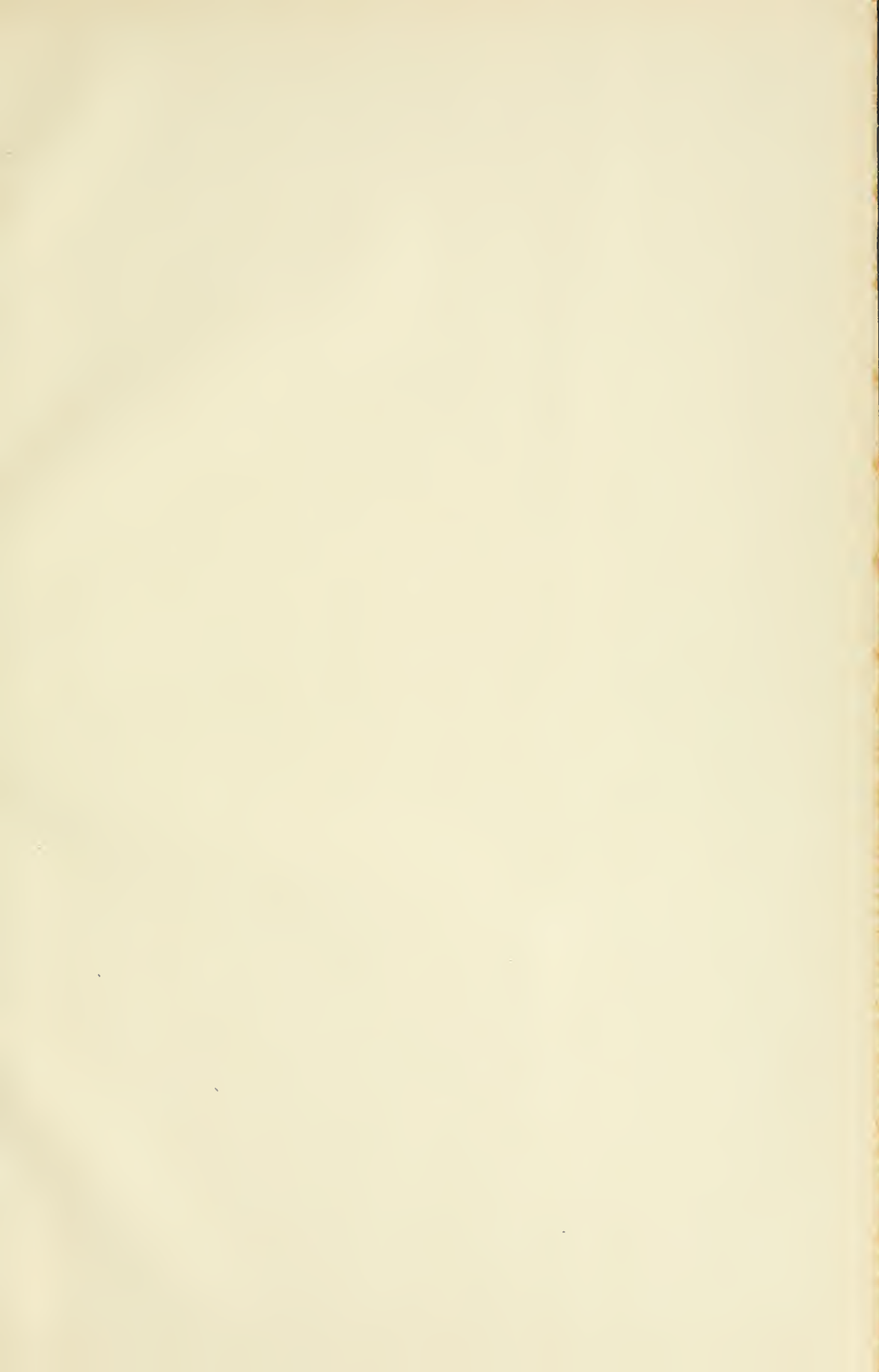
Finally, as Chicago's schools labor now under the disadvantage that, in accordance with our law, a superintendent may not be appointed for a period longer than a year, it would be well that the Board should go on record in favor of a change in the statute such that it could appoint the superintendent of schools for

a period long enough to admit of working out an educational policy, and thus attract better men for the position. Such action would show that the Board of Education as now constituted is in sympathy with a policy of allowing the incumbent to remain long enough to prove his efficiency, and thus would tend to assure the persons to whom the position may be offered a term of reasonable length.

DIRECTORS OF THE CITY CLUB.

(Signed) By ALLEN B. POND,
President.









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